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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

WE solemnly arraign the body of dissenting ministers in England at the bar of truth. The time for trifling has gone by. The Establishment, a life-destroying upas, deep-rooted in our soil, undisturbed, drinks up fresh vigour. It sprouts again. It puts forth fresh branches. It sheds its noxious seeds in our colonies. If there be evil in it, that evil is daily becoming confirmed, augmented, perpetuated. The curse is going down to our posterity, abroad to our emigrants, aggravated in its intensity. For our part, we are resolved to wash our hands of the guilt. In the name of myriads, victims of an impious pretence—when they lean upon it, fatally deluded, when they discern its hollowness, rendered infidels for life—in the name of unborn generations, of the untold millions that shall one day populate the distant dependencies of Britain—in the name of Christianity, misrepresented, disgraced, downcast, trodden under foot, by aristocratic legislation, we charge the body of dissenting ministers with unfaithfulness to sacred principles, evasion of a noble mission, and *seeming* recklessness of all the mighty interests at issue.

A state-church! Have they never pondered upon the practical meaning of that word? Have they never looked into that dark, polluted, inner chamber of which it is the door? Have they never caught a glimpse of the loathsome things that live, and crawl, and gender there? Did they never hear of simony—light-hating simony, too hideous of form for the day to look upon—burrowing and nestling within that same state-church? Has patronage never come across their path, to make them start and pause, and look at its disgusting features? Did no one instance, out of those daily occurring, of advertising the sale of next presentations, ever happen to meet their eye? Or, to get away from details, has their thought never rested upon the fact that their own liberty to worship God as he has commanded them, is graciously *allowed* them, *permitted* as a necessary evil, an infraction of the rule which places the spiritual interests of a great and intelligent people in the hands of the Cardigans and Waterfords, the Palmerstons and Sibthorpes, the soldiers and the lawyers, the gamblers, duellists, and black-legs of the upper and lower houses of parliament? In the face of this monstrous absurdity and impiety, what have they done? We repeat the question with emphasis, "*What have dissenting ministers done?*"

Had Paul—earnest, truthful, lion-hearted Paul, or Knox, or Luther—kindred souls, fallen upon these days of time-serving and expediency, we can well imagine with what words of burning indignation they would have denounced the hoary imposture. To them the offence, whether of the half-instructed but well-meaning dissenters, or of the rich and influential few who, having gained the outermost verge of aristocratical society, pocket their principles lest they should compromise their *respectability*, would have been but as the chaff before the blast. We think we see these men offering their incense to lawn sleeves, and, in furtherance of great Christian objects, inviting the condescending patronage of the titled foes of voluntary Christianity. They were men of right another stamp than that—these rough, yet withal, deep-souled reformers. The bench, the senate, the throne itself, and this broad land from end to end would have heard their stern protest, and quailed before their fearless rebuke. "Though it should rain Prince Georges," as Luther said, "for nine days successively," they would have unmasked the system of money-gathering which has dared to hide itself under the mantle of religion, and laid bare to the scorn and reprobation of the world its true character, its unmitigated deformity.

If this matter concern not dissenting ministers, whom should it concern? We had always supposed the promotion of the church's welfare to be their peculiar duty. They are bound to know, and consequently it may be supposed, they *do* know the blighting, withering effect of an Establishment upon religion. Nay! they have not left this matter in doubt—for, when one of their number declared his solemn conviction that "the Church of England destroys more souls than it saves," they ratified the declaration with their approval. If opinion, therefore, is not ripe for demanding from our legislature the cession for ever of its claims to manage Christianity, whose fault is that? The taunt hurled against the clergy, that protestantism could not have been in danger, had they done their duty in imparting instruction to the people, may be hurled back with fearful violence upon dissenting ministers. Flocks

ignorant of the first principles of dissent—disposed to regard them as things of little importance, not to be obstinately held at the sacrifice of a rich customer—upon whom does that reflect disgrace? Who has instructed them? Who has awakened their indignation, by faithfully laying open the festering evil? If they are ignorant and apathetic, who is answerable for that?

We beg, however, on behalf of thousands, to question the extent of this ignorance, and express doubts as to the reality of this seeming indifference. There is an under-current of earnestness on this subject which escapes the observation of the superficial. The energies of dissenters are not *drawn out*—rather repressed. Were dissenting ministers to sound the key-note, myriads of hearts would joyfully respond. The mass is only unenlightened, not unwilling to learn.

'Tis gold impedes our march.

The leading men in our congregations, churchmen too often in their sympathies, dissenters only in their profession and connections—these are the men that stand between us and the sun. Had dissenting ministers declared themselves, and sworn upon the altar of truth and duty that they would never rest until the abomination was swept away, these would no doubt in crowds have gone over to the church—the most fitting refuge for wealthy worldliness. The seeming loss, however, would have been real gain. The dissenting body might have shrunk in dimensions, but it would have become sounder at heart. Its thews and sinews would have been only the more vigorous for having been relieved of redundant fat.

The various pleas urged by dissenting ministers in defence of their inactivity in this matter have not escaped our notice, nor is it our intention to pass them by without comment. We shall examine them in future numbers. We have spoken out, and we always mean to speak out. We respect truth more than any body of men, however deservedly respected. We believe that dissenting ministers have swerved into dishonesty—we do not believe that dishonesty constitutes their character. There is rightness in them although they have got wrong. Else would we not expose ourselves to the obloquy and reproach which we clearly foresee as the result of plain dealing. Their true power lies in being right. That they will be, and that at no distant period, we are as confident as that the globe turns upon its axle. Necessity is laid upon them. They must ere long be right or they will cease to be. They stand in relation to the Establishment precisely as the ministers in America stood, but a few years since, in relation to slavery. Faithful remonstrance must either rouse them to fearless action, or push them down into universal contempt. We have no misgivings as to the issue.

THE BIBLE MONOPOLY.

We claim the attention of our readers to the letter of Mr. John Childs on this question, and to a report of what took place at Debenham, contained in our columns of this week. It would appear that the Suffolk dissenters are setting to work in earnest—taking the only effectual method of overturning this most hateful of all monopolies—backing "right" against "might" to the amount of 500*l*. Were ten English counties to follow the example, the business would be settled.

Our great object, however, is to direct marked attention to the passage from the Report of the Scottish Bible Board, quoted by Mr. Childs. From this passage it is clear as if written with a sun-beam, that the duty of English Christians, in reference to the monopoly, is to destroy it at all events and without loss of time.

The late reductions by the Queen's printer might open the eyes of all who are not determinately blind. Why is that reduction made? In deference to public opinion, or to save, as far as may be, his waning fortunes? If Mr. Spottiswoode has gone as low as possible, and offers Bibles to the public at a cheaper rate than free trade could produce them, why does he retain the monopoly? Surely it would benefit him to give it up. If he is securing no profit, he has a purpose to answer, which is worth a temporary sacrifice? But if he, with a *monopolist's habits*, is getting even from present prices, such a remuneration as to constitute sufficient inducement to brave all but universal execration, how many thousands of families must be deprived, for his pecuniary advantage, of the "bread of life"?

We are most anxious to see how the question will be treated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, at the public meeting held in Exeter Hall to-day. We are not acquainted with its intended movements. But we earnestly hope, that for their own sakes, for the

sake of the society, for the sake of a great principle, for the sake of the spiritual welfare of millions, the directors will break their mysterious and unmanly silence on this question—that they will adopt the only safe policy—the honest one! We will not suffer ourselves to anticipate otherwise. Should evil counsels, however, unhappily prevail, and an attempt be made to stifle opinion from a pretended regard to peace, then we trust that some man present will be consistent and bold enough to rebuke such shuffling—and to prefer the lasting prosperity of so noble an institution, to the smiles and acquiescence of a few bishops, baronets, and clergy.

That the committee was the proper place for the discussion of this question will be admitted by all. Why then, have not the committee come to some definite resolution on the matter before this? They have endangered the existence of the society. Their attempts to hush up any noise directed against the monopoly, has brought the institution upon the very verge of ruin. We sincerely hope they may retrieve their error this day; or that some sincere friend, who has nerve enough to do right, when the multitude do wrong, will retrieve it for them.

CLERICAL FORBEARANCE.

We report in another page of the *Nonconformist*, the doings of the church in the diocese of Norwich, during the past week, and we call attention to the case of a clergyman at Yarmouth charged with the commission of a great moral offence.

We do not intend to discuss the value of the evidence adduced against Mr. Waters, nor to balance the probabilities of his innocence or guilt. We wish to derive from the case an illustration of one evil inflicted on the public mind by the existence of a state church.

We complain, and with abundant reason, of unjust preference afforded by the state to such as hold one exclusive form of religious truth, or, caring for none of these things, profess the doctrines of the favoured sect; but the grievances of Nonconformists are not to be compared, in their practical results, with the evils unconsciously endured by the members of an established church, and of these the most destructive, while the least oppressive, is the squaring down of a man's religious principles, affections, and exertions to the model of a rubric, or the requisitions of an act of parliament.

The qualities by which the Supreme Legislator tests the members of His church are those of the heart and mind, manifesting themselves in such particulars of the life as are impalpable by human laws.

The terms of membership in a state church must be of infinitely wider latitude, subject to laws which regard overt acts only, and to the stringent rules of legal evidence.

The Christian law requires "that we put off these—anger, wrath, malice," &c. The human laws of a state church cannot even touch the grosser propensities of human nature.

Hence the man whose education and habits have led him to look upon a state church as the exponent of his religious duties, and to satisfy himself with conformity to her requisitions, may indeed pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, but can know little of the weightier matters—mercy, judgment, and faith.

Amongst all classes who are at liberty to act on their convictions, a suspicion of moral delinquency, adhering to the character of a minister, is held as fatal to his usefulness and pretensions, as an abiding suspicion of her purity is destructive to a woman's fair fame.

But a churchman must stop far short of this point; and whatever be the convictions of his own mind, whatever the manifest departures of his priest from the requisitions of the divine law, he must still recognize him as an ensample to the flock, and a worthy successor of the apostles, unless his offence be a violation of human commandments, and the evidence too stringent for evasion by a lawyer's ingenuity.

In the case with which we set out, it will be seen that even the Rev. Francis Cunningham, honourably known as a leader among the evangelical section of the church, has given his assent to this fatal doctrine, and the habitual tendencies of his own mind have permitted him without compunction to give it new currency.

A clergyman is charged with the commission of an offence which leaves no standing ground between positive innocence and absolute guilt; the attempt, the design set in operation, disqualifies the man for part or lot in the sacred office. Mr. Cunningham and two of his clerical brethren are appointed by the bishop to investigate the charge; and they find no cause of solemn protest, no startling invasion of their moral sense or religious principle, that they are compelled to report that the conduct of the delinquent has been highly reprehensible, but there does not appear evidence sufficient to justify further steps.

We ask our readers to ponder the effect on the well-being of society, produced by an institution which spreads over the face of the entire country, and which thus bears down with its whole weight the moral sense of the people—which teaches them to regard as venal whatever is not legally provable, and whose influence can blind the eyes of such men as Francis Cunningham, and cause them willingly to recognize as brethren in the church of Christ, all whose offences, however real, are too cautiously committed to bring them within the censure of the law.

THE SICK LION AND THE ASS.

A. Balance Esq., and Mr. Alexander of Edinburgh, having done their best to slay the reputation of William Baines, are followed by one Joseph Smith of Chiswell-street, *St. Luke's*. We congratulate him on the vicinage in which he has fixed his residence, and beg to compliment him on its felicitous propriety. The following para-

graph from a letter addressed by this gentleman to the *Patriot*, will produce a surprising sensation amongst Mr. Baines's friends, when they can manage to understand it.

We hear of Mr. Baines's "conscientious objections to a Church-rate," "after it is actually made, and its legal validity admitted," and we have often heard the same thing of other Dissenters; but however much Mr. Baines may "disapprove" of the rate, or of the law which authorised it, or of the principles of all common law in this country, yet unless there be some court or tribunal either of the law or of the people to receive his "objections," they cannot be presented or preferred, and, in fact, he cannot have any. And this is not unimportant, as the words "conscientious objections" lead to the supposition that the matter of the rate is still before the law in a state of dispute, which is not the case where its legal validity is admitted: in such a case, therefore, Mr. Baines's "objections" cease, though his "disapprobation" may continue.

This person, who is actuated by the laudable ambition of distinguishing himself above the vast multitude of 'Smiths,' whilst he cantingly expresses his approval of the 'moderation' of Mr. Alexander's letter which is charitably ascribed to his 'consideration for the infirmities of Mr. Baines,' throws out his heels after this fashion against a man whose nobility of nature, it was impossible his little mind could appreciate. He speaks of the prisoner's cession of the principle upon which he has taken his stand, as an obligation the fulfilment of which the religious world has a right to require, 'before he has any right to expect public expressions of kindness, sympathy, or comfort,' and not rather 'exhortations and reproof.' Should Mr. Baines urge that such a cession would be 'wronging his own soul,' his plea would be 'preposterous'—it would only 'be irritating and galling to his excited feelings—that is all.' "He is a witness to the fact of human imperfection, and a sufferer on its account. He is a 'voluntary sacrifice,' it is true, but only to his own conceits and fancies—and how much soever of noble minded disinterestedness and christian manliness may belong to his character, it is not his conduct in Leicester gaol which manifests this class of virtues." No! No! "He exhibits himself in gaol merely to keep alive the declining zeal of those, whose principles will not sustain continuous warfare, and whose countenance to any religious cause is, at best, a questionable benefit." "Write me down ass," said Dogberry. What Mr. Smith would wish to be written down he has left us no room to doubt. But it is quite unnecessary. He has written himself down as plain as man can do it. We decline aiding him in his laudable attempt.

Mr. William Baines remains a prisoner in the county gaol at Leicester, where he has been confined upwards of TWENTY-FOUR WEEKS, for declining to pay at the bidding of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, the sum of 2*l.* 6*s.* church-rates, and 125*l.* 3*s.* costs.

Mr. James Shardlow one of the Leicester church-rate recusants was served with a citation to the Arches court of Canterbury on Saturday last, and immediately upon the news getting abroad, some unknown individual sent the money to the churchwarden with ten pounds for expenses. This of course has very much elated the church party, and we understand that the Rev. Thos. and Mr. Wm. Stevenson are now threatened, and are in daily expectation of receiving citations.

Mr. S. W. Hill, of Bedford, bookseller, appeared before the magistrates at the petty sessions, on Friday the 16th ult., to answer a summons for non-payment of a Church-rate. Mr. Hill gave notice that he should dispute the validity of the rate on several grounds, amongst which were the following, viz. that the rate was not made in vestry—that property was not equally rated, and some altogether omitted which ought to be rated—that there are many arrears of the previous rate—and that many persons were excused who were better able to pay than others who were compelled to pay. The magistrates received Mr. Hill's notice of disputing the validity of the rate, and dismissed the case, having no further jurisdiction. Mr. Hill said he should appear to any citation he received from the Ecclesiastical Court, and retired.—*Northampton Mercury*.

Seven respectable inhabitants, dissenters, were summoned before the magistrates at Burslem, on Tuesday se'nnight, for non-payment of church-rates. On the part of six, viz. Messrs. Maddock, Seddon, Hall, Kennedy, Mayer, and Pidduck, various objections were urged against payment; but as the parties would not declare their intention to dispute the validity of the rate, orders for payment were made against them. The court being satisfied that in the remaining case, that of Mr. George Wigley, the validity of the rate had been *bona fide* disputed, declared their jurisdiction at an end.

Three dissenters were summoned before the magistrates at Exeter, on Tuesday week, for refusing to pay church-rates, after considerable discussion between the attorneys on both sides, the bench adjourned the cases to give them time for considering whether they should allow their jurisdiction to be ousted.

A meeting was held at Kirknewton, in Northumberland, on Tuesday week, for the purpose of laying a church-rate. A rate of half-a-farthing in the pound was proposed, which was met by an amendment for adjournment for twelve months. The amendment was carried by a majority of more than two to one.

A meeting of the parishioners was held last Thursday to consider an application from some one connected with St. James's chapel, for assistance to support the fabric in the shape of church-rate. This chapel was built at the instance of a junta in the parish, and in consequence of the inconvenience of the site, does not fill, and the returns not being equal to the expenses, that which was to have been a self-supporting chapel, is now, pauper like, trying to throw itself on the parish. The meeting granted a two weeks' rate, which, it is said, is perfectly illegal; first, because it is for a retrospective expenditure, and second, because the parish is not legally burdened with the support of the chapel. The rate, as it is called, must be considered as the voluntary gift of those who choose to pay it.—*Western Times*.

A petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the abolition of Church-rates, has been numerous signed by the dissenters and others at Potton. Amongst the names is that of "Mr. John Cressy Lloyd, churchwarden."

On Thursday week a meeting of the rate-payers of Great Harwood was held in the church, for the purpose of levying a church-rate. The clergyman moved that a rate of one penny in the pound be granted. It being seconded, an amendment was proposed by Mr. James Richardson, that there be no rate till the 16th of April, 1842, which was carried by a majority of 24.

On Monday night Mr. C. Lushington presented a petition from the Society of Friends, for the abolition of Church rates.

In the Arches Court, on the 22d ult., application was made for a monition to the churchwardens of the parish of Headeorne, in Kent, requiring them to call a vestry meeting for the purpose of making a church-rate. The churchwardens, who it appears have called several meetings to no purpose, the rates being invariably refused, stated their willingness to obey the commands of the court. Sir Herbert Jenner said the application was new, though a very reasonable one; but Dr. Haggard having referred to a precedent in the Consistory Court of London, in the year 1731, the learned judge directed the monition to issue; the vestry to be held on the 7th of May.

A summons was obtained at Worship-street on Friday last against Mr. Pulley, vestry-clerk of St. John's, Hackney, for refusing to deliver up an anti-church-rate petition, of which he had surreptitiously obtained possession.

On Wednesday, April 21, a commission, issued by the Bishop of Norwich, was opened to inquire into a charge preferred by James Laws, of Yarmouth, against the Rev. — Waters, minister of St. George's chapel, for having offended against the laws ecclesiastical by soliciting the chastity of Ann Laws. The case excited the most intense interest in the town and neighbourhood, and the court was crowded to excess by gentlemen of the first rank. The evidence was to the effect that the complainant's wife had three notes, at different times, dropped into her basket in the market. The notes were not produced; but Mr. Laws stated one to be—"Meet me to-night, about nine or half-past nine, between Penrice's and the beach." In consequence of this note, complainant desired his wife to be to the appointment, and he accompanied her at a distance of about 20 or 30 yards; he saw Mr. Waters approach his wife and converse with her 3 or 4 minutes, but was not sufficiently near to hear what was said. A mass of contradictory statement is said to have followed; after hearing which the court adjourned for consultation, which occupied them one hour, when the chairman (the Rev. F. Cunningham), addressed the public as follows:—"Although the commissioners are unanimously of opinion that the conduct of the Rev. Mark Waters, in the transactions which have been the subject of inquiry before us, has been highly objectionable, yet they do not think that the evidence is sufficient to warrant them, on the terms of the commission, in pronouncing that there is *prima facie* ground for instituting further proceedings."

On Monday, April 26, twenty inhabitants of Norwich and four churchwardens from two parishes in which no church-rates have for several years been made, appeared before Archdeacon Bathurst, at his visitation, pursuant to citations, to show cause why they should not be monished to make a rate, and repair their churches. Among the gentlemen cited were three (Messrs. Springfield, Marshall, and Finch,) who had served the office of mayor. The monitions delivered to all the parties commanded the churchwardens to summon the inhabitants, by the 10th of June, to come together and make a rate, and in default of their doing this, the wardens again to return, within three days, to the archdeacon, a written report of the names of the inhabitants, being a majority, who neglect or refuse to make such rate. [This is the sequel to the Braintree case—the beginning, we hope, of an end. The archdeacons of England have selected Norwich to try their strength in. We understand there is no probability of the inhabitants being induced to make a rate, and then the ecclesiastical proceedings will commence in earnest. We avow our hope that they will be successful, for we shall be glad to see all who avow themselves the opponents of a state church placed in a position either to resist it with the vigour which the mighty wrong demands from them, or to sit quietly down under a "practical grievance" which they use only for a stalking-horse.]

The *Leicestershire Mercury* states that at the village of Hugglescote the clergyman finding the rustics very slow at coming to the church, has exerted that despotic influence which the priesthood generally possess in the villages, to compel the members of a sick club in the village to pay their subscriptions in church, on Sundays, after divine service.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I thank you for your notice in last week's *Nonconformist* of "A Balance's" Apology for Dissenters.

The extract you gave from the pamphlet is sufficient to identify the author with that class of dissenters who are willing to regard the existence of an abuse as a reason for perpetuating it, and who adopt in another sense, the axiom, that whatever is, is right. Even in the business of the world, where men claim to judge of right by its results, and measure it by expediency, the principle shadowed forth in that extract would be held impractical, and therefore *wrong*; but it is unendurable that any man, whether a worldling, affecting an interest in religious matters, or a member of the religious community, cloaking his indifference beneath a worldly designation, should avow that men of principle will consent to a detestable institution, simply because it has "drifted down to us on the tide of time," and for ages poisoned the stream with its pestilential putridity.

I do not believe that the dissenters acquiesce in the continuance of the state-church courts, the so-called christian jurisdiction, because it is aged and venerable; and I express my conviction, founded on ample means of observation, that their apathy on this subject, their indifference to the public wrong, and the personal grievances inflicted by the nuisance, arise from their ignorance of the constitution, history, practices, and even the local whereabouts of these detestable courts.

People submit to their existence as they do to that of Malaria, tic-douloureux, or any other evil whose source is obscure, and whose operations are impalpable.

More than three centuries ago, Luther, that earnest, far-seeing, right-minded, out-speaking man, declared the abrogation of the canon law to be of secondary importance only to the circulation of the Scriptures, for emancipating the human mind from the shackles of a priestcraft of a thousand years duration; and on the 10th December, 1520, he publicly burnt the volumes of that law. I believe it to be a fact but little known, that the code

which Luther so much abhorred, the instrument for centuries of ecclesiastical cruelty, was the very same, even to minute points of practice, as that now administered in our state-church courts. Here no reform has been admitted, no innovations even attempted, for men might as reasonably try to reform a thumb-screw, or humanize a tiger; and the very forms by which heretics were led to the stake, when kings deemed burning a light visitation for their crimes, now guide to the dungeon in these more civilized days, when a Protestant establishment, and an enlightened policy, hold perpetual imprisonment, penalty hard enough for the obstinate heretics.

The holy men in our country, who were driven by persecution to select the least frequented sites for their places of devotion; those, for instance, who used an upper chamber of the king's Weigh House for the purpose, acknowledged the terrors of ecclesiastical tyranny, armed with ecclesiastical law, but they did not, with "A BALANCE of the Middle Temple," acquiesce in the injustice because it had become venerable. I trust the *Nonconformist* will succeed in developing to the practical conviction of the religious classes, those social duties which religious principles involve.

Illustrations of the truth may be useful however in aiding this result, and the operations of establishments, their influence on the human mind and the public welfare, will help to fix the lessons of abstract truth. With this view, I think, sir, you would render good service, if you should furnish to your readers, as authentic sources open, statistics of our establishment, and especially with information respecting her courts, their laws, usages, officers, and doings.

I am, Sir, your friend.

ANTI-BALANCE.

April 24, 1841.

BIBLE MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Bungay, 1st May, 1841.

SIR,—I avail myself of your permission to make a few remarks on the subject of the Bible Monopoly, by first stating that a deep impression of its unholy character has long been felt by men who regard the public welfare as part of the object for which they live.

So long ago as the year 1819 the subject was referred to in a letter which I received from Mr. William Hone, a man whose life was spent, so long as health and strength remained to him, in efforts for the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of his fellow-man. I may here add, that Mr. Hone is now reaping the too common reward of men like himself, who never ceased to care for the well-being of those who are far off, and those who are nigh; and many who formerly affected great personal regard for him, and were pleased by an association with his matchless talents, affectionate disposition, and undeviating fidelity to the principles of freedom, are now estranged from him in the evening of his life, when their sympathy and assistance might minister to his comfort in his declining days. It was on the 3d of February, 1819, that I received a letter from Mr. Hone, in which the following sentence occurs:—

"The affair of the bible prosecutions, instituted by Strahan and Spottiswoode, King's printers, might be made of great service to the public. I am morally certain that, by firm co-operation and stout attack, the patent might be thrown open. The booksellers' committee meet and inquire, and inquire and meet, and will make a report that will end in smoke, while the public, and especially that class of the public who should take most interest in it, know nothing about it. They think they get their bibles cheap enough of the Bible Society, and believe they have security for the correctness of the text in the patent, and so are satisfied with the monopoly. Often betrayed by their leaders, the people never resist any great abuse long enough to overthrow it at one attack, nor till repeated assaults have weakened its foundations."

About the time referred to, great clamour was raised, both in London and throughout the country, by the king's printers having served numerous injunctions, not only on persons who sold new, but on many who sold second-hand, bibles, as well by commentators as with marginal references, and large sums of money were subscribed to resist the oppression and try the validity of the patent.

Seeing this excitement, the monopolists, with a tact peculiar to their caste, abandoned the prosecutions, taking care, where they found imbecility and ignorance enough, to obtain their law expenses, and extort pledges under the sanction of unlawful oaths, that the parties would in future sell only the bibles of the patentees, who by this their traffic might indeed be said to "make merchandize of the blood of Christ." After these successful efforts, the informations were withdrawn, the excitement soon died away, and the people who cared most about the bible were contented to compare the charges of the Bible Society with the list issued by the monopolists, and the prices necessarily charged by booksellers, whose trade in bibles was thus entirely destroyed. In the meantime the Scotch people imported large numbers of English bibles, and the quiet success of the English monopolists induced their brother in Scotland to try a similar experiment within his borders: he therefore determined, as Dr. Campbell forcibly remarks, that monopoly, "with lucre burning in its heart, and fierceness blazing in its eye, should enter the courts of law, and call for the civil power to aid it in withholding the bread of life from a famished world," and in the years 1821 to 1824 he instituted against numerous ministers and directors of bible societies, actions of suspension and interdict, to prevent the sale and circulation of these English bibles. The question was tried in the Scottish courts, and carried, by appeal, to the House of Lords, where the exclusive privilege of one man to print the word of God was at length confirmed, and the monopolist doubtless flattered himself that henceforth no bibles would be sold in Scotland but those printed by himself. Contrary, however, to his calculations, the indignation which had been excited by these transactions paved the way for the destruction of his monopoly.

To use the language of Dr. Lee, the judges of the Court of Session expressed themselves in terms that were not felt to be consistent with the views generally entertained on the subjects of religious liberty and the freedom of the press, and the people of Scotland did not feel the decision of the Lords to be either just or equitable, or that it ought to be regarded as the law of the land. They brooded over the result as an unendurable oppression, but remained quiet and determined, like "THE SILENT PEOPLE" you described in the article of your first number; they waited till "a truth-loving, earnest man should arise to deserve their confidence and lead them forward," one whom no circumstances of expediency could induce to make terms with the monopolist, or teach the doctrine that a monopolist could sell cheaper than a free-trader. The man they looked for at length appeared in my friend Dr. Thomson, of Coldstream, whose undaunted courage and persevering fidelity to the cause of God's word were never diverted by the blandishments of the powerful, the subtlety of pretended friends, or the bullying of open foes. Had he been weak or vain enough to be cajoled by flattery, or corrupt enough to turn the position he occupied to the profit of the monopolist, by striving under any plea to perpetuate the patent, the people of Scotland would still have been saddled with the burden from which they are happily relieved. Every man in that country is now at full liberty to print the scriptures, or purchase them in England, while the English people are tied by monopoly and fettered by restrictions. I therefore urge every subscriber to the Bible Society to keep the thought constantly in view—that *free trade only* can bring about the natural results of competition, and that the GOVERNMENT BIBLE BOARD OF SCOTLAND has

nobly avowed that "a very small diminution in the price of bibles acquires a magnitude and importance essentially different from what can be predicted in respect of any other article of sale, for that the difference of a single penny in the price of a bible determines year after year whether the word of God is or is not to enlighten and gladden thousands of families."

I warn ministers of religion in England, the religious public, and the thousands of Sunday-school teachers, to ponder this sentence well; it is an expression of the feeling towards the monopoly entertained by members of her Majesty's government; and I ask the classes making profession of religion, whether, with such a just opinion freely given, from such a quarter, they will quietly consent to the withering effects of the patent for 19 years to come.

As well may they expect the Ethiopian to change his skin, or the leopard his spots, as that monopoly should ever change its character; while the result must be, if it shall be permitted to remain till the year 1860, that thousands of families will, as a consequence, year after year, pass into eternity unenlightened by the word of God, and ignorant of the way of salvation.

I will rest here for the present, and am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN CHILDS.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church Rates, abolition of, 133.—From Oakham, Chumleigh, Chawleigh, Stockbridge, Protestant dissenting ministers of the Independent denomination of the county of Stafford (chairman), Stalybridge, Ashdon, Wrexham (two petitions), Toxteth Park, Ringsfield, West Bromwich (two petitions), Burrington, Great Easton, Birmingham, Halifax, Barnstaple, Smeeton, Lapford, Hollacombe, Lochwinnoch, Lindley, Great Oakley, Barnet, Beccles, Wem, Middleton Cheney, Bloxham, Richard Henry Rosell, Banbury (six petitions), Adderbury, Neatishead, Hornton, King Sutton, Weston by Weedon, Odiham, Alton, Members of a meeting appointed to represent the religious Society of Friends in Great Britain, Worcester, Hornton, Hayes, Beccles, Modbury, Peterborough, Kingsbridge, Great Bourton, Shutford, Sulgrave, Greenock, Bradford (York) (five petitions), Lanthewy Rytherch, Bridlington, Coleford, Bingley, Truro, Hythe, Colyton, Ottery St. Mary, Newport (Isle of Wight), Node-Hill, Mendham, Abingdon, Stebbing, Basingbourn, Plymouth (two petitions), Horwich, Great Driffield, Horton College, Bury St. Edmund's, Ruthin, Bramley, Clavering, Yelvertoft, Farsley, Penybryn, Bridgewater, Bingley, Bradford (York), Fenton, Stoke-upon-Trent, Shelton (five petitions), Old Ford, Bridgewater (five petitions), Haverfordwest, Burslem (three petitions), Eheadle, Kerswell, Newcastle-under-Lyme (three petitions), Knutton, Wolstanton, Hanley (three petitions), Harpfield, Longton (two petitions), Upper Hanley, Smallthorn, Etruria, Tunstall, North Petherton, Merridge, Knowle, Longport, Dale Hall, Stone, Cobridge, Wingham and Preston, Street, and Highbury College, Islington.

—against abolition, 3. Market Harborough, Toller Porcorum, and Chatham.
Church Extension, 251.
Church Patronage (Scotland), abolition of, 81.
Abolition of Ecclesiastical Courts, and release of Mr. William Baines, 3.
Substitution of Affirmations for Oaths, 7.
Lord's Day, better observance of, 15.
Jews Declaration Bill, for, 1.
Idolatry in India, abolition of, 1.
Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Bill, against, 5; for, 23.
Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill, against, 24; for, 7.
Corn Laws, repeal of, 123.
—against repeal of, 64.
Import Duties, revision of, 20.
Poor Law Amendment Bill, against, 82.
County Courts Bill, for, 1; against, 1.
Medical Profession (No. 1) Bill, against, 5.
—(No. 2), in favour, 6; against, 1.
Universal Suffrage, 1.
For a free Pardon of Frost, &c., 2.
Dog-carts, suppression of, 7.
Education, 1.
Punishment of Death Bill, in favour, 3.
—for abolition of, 1.
Roman-catholic Relief Act, repeal of, 1. Aldboro'.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

MOTIONS.

1. Mr. FRESHFIELD—"That a select committee be appointed, on the port of departure and arrival of the West India mails, to whom shall be referred the reports of the committee appointed by the Lords of the Admiralty to inquire into the comparative advantages afforded by different ports in the Channel, for the West India mail service." The House divided—Ayes, 51; Noes, 50.
2. Dean Forest Bill—"That it be an instruction to the gentlemen who are appointed to prepare and bring in the Dean Forest bill, to make provision for authorizing her Majesty to endow a church in the forest." (Queen's recommendation signified); Instruction accordingly.
3. Complaint being made to the House of a misrepresentation of the speech of Henry Handley, Esq., in a printed newspaper, intitled, "The Morning Chronicle," dated Saturday, May 1st, 1841, printed and published by Thomas Nicholson, of No. 13, Wharton-street, Pentonville: The said paper was delivered in, and the paragraph complained of read. Motion made, and question proposed, "That Thomas Nicholson do attend this House to-morrow?" Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Slave Compensation Bill.
2. Dean Forest Bill.
3. Stamp Duties (Law Proceedings) Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Sewers Bill—committed to a select committee.
2. Dog-carts Bill.
3. Turnpike Roads and Highways Bill.
4. Slave Compensation Bill.
5. Insolvent Debtors (Ireland) Bill.
6. Trade of British Possessions abroad Bill.
7. Turnpike Roads Bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Bill. On the clause proposing to give to leaseholders of [] years, provided that his property shall have been rated at the net annual value of [], and that he has been in occupation [] calendar months:—Motion made, and question proposed, "That the first blank be filled with 'fourteen'?"—Afterwards proposed, "That the blank be filled with 'one'?"—Question put, "That the blank be filled with 'fourteen'?"—The committee divided—Ayes, 513; Noes, 47. Motion made, and question proposed, "That the second blank be filled with 'eight'?"—Afterwards proposed, "That the blank be filled with 'five'?"—Question put, "That the blank be filled with 'eight'?"—The committee divided—Ayes, 431; Noes, 123. Motion made, and question put, "That the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill?"—The committee divided—Ayes, 289; Noes, 399.
2. Charitable Trusts Bill.
3. Drainage (Ireland) Bill.
4. Ways and Means. Resolved, That towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of 11,000,000, be raised by exchequer bills for the service of the year 1841.
5. Punishment of Death Bill.
6. Criminal Justice Bill.
7. Excise Collection and Management Bill.
8. Slave Compensation Bill.
9. Administration of Justice Bill.

BILL READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

1. Banking Co-partnership Bill.

SUBSTANCE OF CONVERSATIONS.

On Monday, Mr. HANDLEY complained of an inaccurate report in the *Morning Chronicle* of a speech delivered by him on Friday. In that report he was made to say that he would support ministers in the measure which they contemplated respecting the corn-laws. What he had said was the very reverse, and making every allowance for the arduous duties of the reporters, Mr. Handley said he could not believe such a misrepresentation as the present to have originated merely in a mistake. The hon. member concluded by moving that the printer of the *Morning Chronicle* be called to the bar of the House. Mr. HUME hoped the honourable member would not persevere with his motion, as the object he had in view must now have been obtained. Sir De Lacy Evans was surprised that the motion had been brought forward at all. He had more than once had his own remarks in that house misreported, but would never have had the presumption to call the attention of the House to such a circumstance. It was quite absurd to suppose the mistake of the reporter to have been intentional. Mr. Handley, having obtained the object he had in view, asked leave to withdraw his motion.

Lord J. RUSSELL intimated that on Friday next he should state the amount of duty which he would propose to lay on the importation of foreign corn.

Lord SANDON said that, on the same day, he would move a resolution which would give the House an opportunity to pronounce an opinion on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's contemplated change of the sugar duties.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, April 28.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

The orders of the day having been postponed, as far as they preceded this bill:—

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that he would state the course which he proposed to pursue. He had asked the house the other evening to adjourn the consideration of the bill, thinking the vote which the house came to respecting certain words to be introduced into the first clause, to be of very considerable importance.

I attached, said the noble lord, much importance to those words, chiefly from what I heard; and inferring, from the statements then made, that it was intended, by affirming those words, to exclude the franchise proposed by his noble friend in his bill, the importance of that debate and that vote I did not by any means exaggerate, but I think the government would not be at all justified in considering that vote conclusive on this question. They have to consider that the second reading of this bill—of which the principal clause is that which contains the franchise—was affirmed in a very large house by 301 members. It is likewise to be considered, that the amendment of my noble friend was moved, not with the view of negating any other franchise that might be proposed, but with the view of adding a new kind of franchise. That franchise, as stated in the course of the debate by my noble friend, if added to that proposed by my noble friend near me, would be an addition to the franchise and not a diminution. That addition I should be willing to accept, if the house were prepared to adopt a franchise of the nature which we have proposed. Considering these circumstances, therefore, we think it is our duty to proceed with the bill, and take the sense of the house with respect to the franchise we have proposed. The franchise is the principal part of the bill, and it was discussed on the second reading, not with respect to its amount, or the length of the lease, but with respect to its general nature. I do not consider that it is necessary to enter further into the question at present. I shall, therefore, move the order of the day for going into committee on the Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Bill.

Lord HOWICK wished also to state what were his intentions. He saw no reason to alter the opinions he had expressed in the last debate. In reference to the first amendment the house had affirmed the principle of retaining a property qualification, and government had declared, that to a franchise defined as he proposed, in addition to some other franchise, they would not object. Except as an addition, he should never have proposed it—unless it could be adopted as an addition he would not persevere in offering it to the House. His more important amendment went to alter the nature of the occupation franchise, to do away with the necessity of a lease. The facts he had adduced in support of that amendment had not been attempted to be disproved by ministers, and even Lord Stanley had said that the principle if it had been embodied in the ministerial bill would have secured 'his respectful consideration,' to entitle it to that, it must be proposed on the responsibility of government. He had no support, therefore, to expect on either side of the House, and he knew his duty to the House better than to persevere in what he knew would be a fruitless effort. Of course it would be impossible for him to co-operate with the government. He wondered they should persevere with their clause, certain as they must be that they could not pass it into a law, and only increase party excitement. The faults they set themselves to remedy, must remain another year—faults of a most monstrous and crying nature. On the other hand, Lord Stanley's attempt would be equally futile—and tend only to exasperate existing animosities.

The right hon. baronet and the noble lord had told him that he (Lord Howick), occupying the position which he did, was not in a position to deal with the franchise, that no man could hope to accomplish this highly necessary reform unless it should be taken up by Her Majesty's Government, and proposed on their responsibility and authority. If this principle held with respect to the reform of the franchise, why should not the same principle apply with equal force to a reform of the tribunal? The principle was the same, since, as he was persuaded from facts elicited during the late debate, the first step towards the satisfactory accomplishment of a reform in the tribunal was a fair definition of the franchise [hear]. It was impossible to deal with these subjects separately, and unfortunate as might be the effect of leaving Ireland for a whole year a prey to all the evils of her present registration system and indefinite franchise, he feared that under existing circumstances such must be the inevitable result. Did he deny that it was a result deeply to be deplored? Far from it. Or did he think this result inevitable if there had existed in the breasts of those constituting the two great parties in that house a real and earnest desire to act solely for the public good, instead of seeking the advantages of party and faction? [hear.] Far from it. He thought this, on the contrary, a question which did admit of a settlement, and the country had a right to ask, and ask it would, who was responsible for preventing that settlement? [loud cheers.]

Sir R. PEEL explained the course he had taken on Monday. He understood the adjustment of this great question had been undertaken by the government—to define the franchise and amend admitted abuses in the registration. Those abuses they admitted to be most gross, but said there was risk of narrowing the franchise by improving the registration, and that both questions must be settled together. In attempting to define the franchise, they had made a proposition for its subversion. He had understood Lord Howick to object to the principle of the franchise proposed by ministers. His first amendment was simply that a beneficial interest, or profit on the land should be a *sine qua non*. That question the house proceeded to discuss—the main principle—that which was to regulate the future constituency of Ireland. Lord Howick had explained, and the member for Halifax had declared, in the clearest and most decisive manner, that the beneficial interest was an addition to the principle proposed by ministers, contending that it would extend the franchise, and at the same time add to its respectability. Indeed, the latter gentleman had urged that it

was impossible to resist this amendment, except on the principle. On the principle it was resisted.

What he had stated was this—"If you can prove to me that the just expectations which might be entertained under the Relief Bill or the Reform Act have been disappointed—that there is reason for believing that there will be such a diminution of the county or borough constituency of Ireland as will not leave an intelligent constituency conformably to the fair intent of the Reform Act, in that case I should not be indisposed to take into consideration a remedy," but he had also stated, that in applying that remedy he would contend for the principal urged by the noble lord, that in respect to counties a profit on land should be the essential qualification [hear, hear]. He had said, also, with respect to the definition of the franchise, that he was perfectly convinced that no authority short of the executive was able to deal with so important a matter as the definition of the franchise. The House must see, that if he (Sir R. Peel) assented to a definition of the franchise, he ought to be in a condition to give a reasonable assurance to the house that there was a probability of the bill passing the Lords: would it then be fair in him to be guilty of any collusion in assenting to a measure which he did not think could pass their lordships' house? Was he then wrong in maintaining the necessity of a party proposing so important a measure as the constitution of a new franchise possessing the confidence of the crown? [hear, hear].

He then adverted to the defective character of the information furnished by government as a basis for legislation on this subject, and the haste with which it was got up.

The noble lord had said, that the general tendency of a 5*l.* franchise would be to widen the sphere of the constituency, but that it was not probable that any sudden increase would result. If those were the intentions of the noble lord, he (Sir R. Peel) was perfectly satisfied with the course which he had pursued, namely, that of declaring his opinion that no one could deal with a question of such immense importance in its practical results to Ireland, unless he possessed those means of information which a government alone could command; and though he might concur in the principle of the proposer, still he thought that when a settlement of this question was attempted it should be carried out on such information as might lead to a permanent adjustment. Being of opinion that such information had not been supplied, he could not consistently with his duty give a pledge that he would support any measure with the details of which he had no means of making himself acquainted.

LORD MORPETH, in answer to Sir R. Peel, said, that he (Lord M.) had stated without any indistinctness whatever, that they were not settling a *sine qua non* condition for the future construction of the franchise in Ireland; that the amendment related mainly to matter of form and verbal expression, and that were Lord Howick's words adopted, the franchise might yet be consistently defined or remodelled as the house pleased. He knew that the words implied that the principle of a beneficial interest should be preserved to be tested by subsequent provisions of the bill—and he had even proved that the test of 5*l.* profit over and above the rent and charges would well nigh disfranchise the whole of the present constituency. He had stated that ministers would not object to that as a mere addition—and treated so, would, if so brought forward, adopt it.

What he said was, that an alternative and additional condition they must have. They (the ministers) insisted that it should be a rating of the net annual value of 8*l.*, and upon that, whether considered simply as the sole proposition and condition for the construction of this franchise in Ireland, or taken as an additional and alternative qualification upon it, they were determined that the sense of the house should be deliberately and fully ascertained.

He declared that government had spared no exertions to collect information—that they had produced it as early as possible after obtaining it,—but that full information was impossible during the present session in consequence of the incompleteness of the Poor-law arrangements.

MR. H. GRATTAN observed, that if a feather were plucked from the crown of Her Majesty, it would not be by the people of Ireland, but by the shameful political jugglery of the noble lord Howick, who having indirectly obtained the support of the house in favour of his proposition, completed the farce by cowardly shrinking from submitting to the house the marrow and pith of that proposition; and, contenting himself with having gained a majority against his friends, with backing out of the question as well as he could. He called upon the right hon. baronet the member for Tamworth to carry out the principle of the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Bill, and to grant to the people of Ireland an equality of rights with the people of Scotland. He only asked for the benefit of the Scotch Reform Bill. He was content to try the intentions of the opposite party by that, and slight as was the boon, he feared it would be refused. It only, therefore, remained for the Irish members to take a more decided course than they had hitherto done [a laugh], and to protect those millions of people in the sister country, who were now trembling for the result of the present contest, lest it terminate in their political disfranchisement.

The house then went into committee on the bill.

Clause 1 as amended was agreed to.

Clause 2, proposing that the qualification of voters shall consist in freeholds and leases of 14 years, rated to the poor at the yearly value of 5*l.*, having been read by the chairman

MR. HUME asked whether, after the admissions made of the unwillingness of landlords to renew leases, the right of the franchise should be based on the possession of a lease. This might be very well for Lord Stanley who contended that the influence of the landlord ought to direct the vote of the tenant—but for Lord Howick who had given utterance to the sentiment that the members sent to that house, ought to speak the real opinions, and represent the real feelings of the majority of the people, to support the proposition only proved that good professions were readily made by both sides of the house, when there existed no intention to fulfil them. Ireland would not be content with paltry measures of reform. Nothing but a full and fair representation would ever satisfy the country. In England and Scotland only one man in five possessed the franchise, and the reform ministry, indisposed to remedy the crying evil, increased the military and police to repress their discontent. In Ireland only 1 in 20 had a vote—He called therefore upon Lord Howick to act consistently with his professions and attempt to go beyond the paltry suffrage which was proposed. The hon. member then showed from official returns the extremely limited number of voters in England, Scotland, and Wales, as compared with the population in Ireland, the population was 8,500,000 the number of voters 98,000.

If property were to be a qualification, it should be borne in mind that every man who held anything like a station in society, was possessed of property, which, however trifling compared with 50*l.* leaseholds, was as dear to him as wealthier men felt their possessions to be to themselves. The noble lord had given utterance to sentiments which he seemed inclined to fly from. But the noble lord was bound to stick to his colours [hear, and laughter]. He ought to see that measures were passed which would make the gentlemen who came from Ireland really and truly the representatives of the people [hear]. But he durst say, that some understanding had taken place which would prevent the bill from passing, and another year would be allowed to elapse without doing anything. In his opinion, neither Whig nor Tory was disposed to do justice to Ireland [hear]. He proposed that the word "fourteen" be struck out and the word "one" inserted.

LORD MORPETH taunted Mr. Hume with his absence on another

occasion, and opposed the amendment on the ground that they would not lessen the control of the landlord over the tenant's votes by shortening his lease.

MR. C. WOOD and MR. HAWES supported the amendment, as did also MR. W. S. O'BRIEN.

MR. PIGOT opposed it. After a few words from MR. WARD, and MR. LUCAS, LORD JOHN RUSSELL said.

The honourable gentleman who has just sat down, and who wants "something tangible," to oppose or support, was one of those—if not the principal one—who urged last session with great force (and no one is more able to place his arguments in a more clear and distinct light), that it was necessary, if you meant to pass a bill which should rest on a secure foundation, and prevent eternal disputes, to have a fixed and definite franchise—more fixed and more definite than that which was then submitted. Yet the same honourable gentleman, acting I know not under what orders, and abiding by the dictates of I know not what superior authority, has contended that everything combined to show that it was most unadvisable that there should be a fixed and definite franchise; that it was most unwise to attempt to fix the franchise in any way whatever, and that the true plan was to propose some plan of registration, without settling the franchise at all. Therefore, if the honourable gentleman comes and taunts us with great differences of opinion, I must say that it would not be very difficult to show that the differences of opinion which prevail amongst different members—each acting on his own information, and grounding his judgment on that—are not more varied, and that no one member has differed more from another than the honourable gentleman from himself [loud cries of hear, hear, and laughter].

He proceeded to show the difficulties to be contended with in framing a measure of this nature. There was first the different signification of the term freehold as applied to England and Ireland. Here it comprises a tenure not less than for life. Forty shilling freeholders are generally persons—small farmers, for instance, at rents of from 100*l.* to 300*l.* a year, artisans and even daily labourers—who possessed small freeholds of inheritance. They were independent and industrious, very much diffused throughout the country, and often had these freeholds in their families for a long period of time. Their position was well known, and when they declared themselves to derive 40*s.* a year from such a freehold, their word was readily taken for granted, and when questioned, the right to the franchise was easily established. In Ireland you have not, in fact, the same tenure. No large class of persons have freeholds of inheritance. Property is generally held for a long term of years, or for the life of the holder. Forty shilling freeholders are not numerous, nor generally diffused, nor independent, nor holding from one generation to another. The freehold was commonly held for the life of the holder, or possibly of some old person. Therefore the franchise was altogether different. Then the difference in the state of society was great. Here 50*l.* tenants were men who would naturally sympathize in general with their landlords, and there was general harmony. There was no pointed difference of feeling in any class between itself and the class immediately above or below it.

But when you come to the state of society in Ireland—whether you hold one opinion or the other, it is impossible not to be struck with the great diversity of feeling—I might say, the great opposition of feeling between the class of great proprietors and the class of tenants, who, under the tenure I have described, have been entrusted with the franchise. You have one party highly attached to an aristocratic constitution, and very eager to uphold the protestant establishment of the church, conceiving the ancient institutions of the country must be preserved for the sake of their, and of the general security, as well as to fix the succession of the crown in a protestant line. You have next the class of persons below the landlords—at least the great mass of the people—deeply attached to the Roman Catholic religion, holding that they and their fathers have been injured and insulted by a predominant party, seeking the exercise of their political rights, in order, as far as possible, to adjust the balance, and claiming for themselves and the class to which they belong a very large, and, as they consider, a just share of political power.

During the existence of the 40*s.* freeholders there was an immense abuse of the franchise by the landlords, until the weapon snapped in their own hands. It was then changed for the 10*l.* franchise. In so raising it, the difference between the English and Irish freehold was lost sight of. The franchise requiring a tenure for life, dependent on the rent being paid, and profits to the amount of 10*l.* presents great difficulties—very different from any which would be felt in England—to the ascertainment of the nature of the tenure, and the amount of qualification. No authorities were quoted, no information received, to justify the change. Lord Stanley was taunted by Mr. Croker just as ministers had been taunted that night with legislating without sufficient information. The result was, a franchise was established about which there had been endless disputes. In 1835 ministers had attempted to define the franchise—the bill was rejected. Unless therefore they adopted the definition given by the majority of the judges in Ireland, to which they strongly objected, or that of the Longford committee which was directly opposed to conservative views, he knew not what they could do other than to propose something not yet considered or rejected by any party. He contended that leaseholders were more likely to be independent in the exercise of the franchise than occupants.

If you establish the franchise of occupation, I fear that one of two cases will arise. There may be a period of extreme tranquillity as regards political feelings and opinions, and in that case the occupying tenants will vote according to the wishes of the landlords. That was an evil and might lead to what had been already frequently alluded to, namely, the possibility of a few individuals returning a member of parliament. That, after all, however, was only a political evil; but a greater and deeper evil might occur. There might arise a period of great excitement, in which the landlords might conscientiously think it their duty to support the protestant church in Ireland, and a party which was not that which the people of Ireland generally concurred with. The landlords in that case would attempt to force their tenants to vote as they desired; but their tenants having an equally strong sense of their duty to their religion, their party, their rights, and their country, would be placed in this situation—they would come to the hustings to record their votes for their landlords, and against their opinions and consciences; or against their landlords and in conformity with their opinions and consciences; and that of the great mass of the people, incurring thereby, the risk of being ejected from their dwellings [hear, hear]. I beseech the House to consider the evil which will accrue in either case. On the one hand, a man may be called to give up the means of procuring a livelihood for himself, his wife and family, in his native land; or, on the other, he will be compelled to vote against his own conscientious opinion, and in favour of those who malign the religion he professes, and the party to which he is attached. I dread, therefore, submitting any proposition to parliament by means of which the great mass of the tenantry of Ireland may be placed in such a situation.

The franchise proposed by ministers was far better. No persons would possess it, but such as had a stake in the country. It was necessary to guard against the diminution of the constituency. The noble lord concluded his speech with the following passage—

You cannot deprive millions of people of political power—you cannot, by any words you may put on your statute book, shut them out from exercising influence on the government and the state; but you will induce them to do that which will cause their influence to be felt more powerfully, namely, to combine together in associations and clubs—illegal clubs and general associations, which would exercise an irregular and formidable influence on the conduct of the government and parliament, free from that check and control which exists when persons exercise legitimate political power, and have the opportunity of voting for the election of those who should represent their feelings and wishes in parliament [hear, hear]. If an attempt should be made to curb the power of the people of Ireland in the way to which I have alluded, depend upon

it, it will fail. The best safeguard to the country is the continuance of that state of things which has existed ever since the passing of the Roman catholic relief bill, and the reform act, by which they possess a regular mode of expressing their complaints and making known their grievances [loud cheers].

Sir R. PEEL would vote for the original proposition, not because he approved of it, but because he thought that government should be allowed to bring forward their proposition in the shape they considered best.

Mr. SHEIL after twitting Lord Howick and Mr. Wood with not understanding each other, and declaring that although they might have the best intentions, they had adopted a most infelicitous mode of carrying them into effect, said that Mr. Hume was not aware of the results to which his amendment would lead, though he was member for Kilkenny [a laugh]. It would be great presumption on his (Mr. Sheil's) part to pretend to be a competent judge of the feelings, opinions, and character of the inhabitants of Middlesex, and the honourable member's connection with Kilkenny would impart no more value to his opinion respecting the feelings of the people of Ireland than would attach to his (Mr. Sheil's) regarding Middlesex [laughter].

He told Lord Howick that he had not always been so enamoured of the Chandos clause, for in 1835 he spoke of the scandalous intimidation practised by landlords by means of it. He contended with great emphasis that occupying tenants in Ireland entrusted with the franchise would be slaves in times of tranquillity, and martyrs in the midst of political excitement and disturbance. Lord Howick ought to be the last man to propose the amendment, for he was an enemy to the ballot.

If it were carried, the advocates of the ballot might say, "Give us protection—save the tenants at will from intimidation—give us the ballot, which is the shield of independence; but if you do not give the ballot, if you will not give protection to the tenant whom you intrust with this dangerous privilege, do not inflict upon him the fatal prerogative which will make him, as has already been said, either a slave or a martyr—which will leave him to make a selection between the painful alternative of a servitude most ignominious or a resistance most disastrous" [hear, hear].

He recounted the history of the 40s. freeholders from 1825 to the time of their extinction—denied that Irish leaders had entered into any compact to sacrifice them in order to obtain the Emancipation Act—charged Lord Stanley with having at the time entered upon the books of the house a protest against the solvent tenant test, and having struck it out of the Irish Reform Bill—and defended, as became a pensioner, the conduct of ministers throughout their struggles in this matter.

It was said that the people of Ireland were poor, and a disposition was evinced to take the wealth of the one country and the poverty of the other as the test by which the constituency of Ireland should be measured. He (Mr. Sheil) could not help remarking that whenever the resources of that country were spoken of in the House of Commons there existed an extraordinary variety of assertions, and Ireland was either rich or poor just as it suited the exigencies of debate. When the hon. and learned member for Dublin, stung by the injustice which he saw daily practised towards his country, called for a repeal of the union, he was met by glowing descriptions of the singular advantages which Ireland had obtained from the union, how rapidly she was advancing in the scale of nations, and what noble destinies were in reserve for her. But when the subject was changed—when the friends of Ireland said, in the name of justice, of expediency, and of necessity, that she ought to be made a participant of all the rights and privileges of which the people of England were in the full, undisturbed, and undisputed possession, they were turned round upon and told that Ireland was a poor country, and not fitted to enjoy the same advantages as her more wealthy neighbour.

Sir R. PEEL and Mr. HUME said a few words in explanation, after which

Mr. O'CONNELL said it would have been more convenient if Mr. Hume had let the clause, which was simply affirmative, pass, and afterwards move an amendment to give the right of voting to tenants at will. He denied that he had ever justified the abolition of the 40s. freeholding franchise. He pointed out the disadvantages with which Ireland had to contend in relation to the franchise, and showed the glaring inequality in the representation system between England and Ireland.

Was it prudent to continue it? Was it just to continue it? Was it safe? It might be safe just now, but who could say that it would be so that day three months. Let them not lay the flattering unction to their soul in thinking that the people of Ireland were regardless of this question. The people of that country were every day more alive to their rights and better able to maintain them. They had set an example of religious fidelity to every other nation. In spite of persecution, they have had the firmness to abide by what they believe to be the true religion; those who thought otherwise ought to remember that an error in faith was no disparagement to virtue in practice. In no other country in Europe were the duties of religion more attended to, and there were more weekly communicants in Ireland than in any other country on the face of the earth. This religious feeling, instead of diminishing, was augmenting. He would put it to the house whether they ought to tamper with the feelings of such a people, of whom upwards of five millions had pledged themselves never to taste the cup of intoxication. If they wished to further the repeal of the union, they could not do so more effectually than by refusing to conciliate the people of Ireland. If, however, they insisted on the continuance of that union, let them establish an equality between the two countries. He could vote conscientiously for the government bill, because he knew they were making a struggle in the right cause. If they should fail, it would not be their fault; their doing so, through the influence of party, would only give an additional incitement to the people of Ireland to join in an universal struggle, in order to obtain justice for themselves [cheers].

The committee then divided—

For Mr. Hume's amendment 47
Against it 513

A few words having passed between Mr. Hume, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. O'Connell, as to the reason for substituting 8*l.* for 5*l.* Mr. Hume moved an amendment that 5*l.* be substituted for 8*l.* The question was put from the chair that 8*l.* the sum stated in the clause, stand part of the bill.

For the amendment 126
Against it 434
Majority for 8*l.* 308

On the question that the clause as amended stand part of the bill.
Mr. BROTHERTON moved an amendment that the chairman report progress.

For the amendment 48
Against it 428
Majority 330

Another conversation of some length ensued in which Mr. Wakley charged Lord John Russell with vacillation—to which Lord John replied with dignity and point. Sir R. Peel then recommended that the sense of the House should be taken on the whole clause the next evening. This was agreed to and the house adjourned.

Thursday, 29.

The Chairman said the question was that clause 2 as amended stand part of the bill.

Lord MORPETH moved the adoption of the clause. He explained

why he felt himself warranted in asking the House to take into consideration the position in which this question was placed. He then at some length vindicated the trust-worthiness of the calculations and returns which had been made by the poor-law valuers. He said that the doubts of the propriety of applying poor-law valuations expressed by Sir R. Peel and others in discussions on this bill, were not insisted upon at the commencement of these valuations when it was proposed to apply them to test the municipal franchise. At all events it was a great improvement to fix the franchise upon a fixed and settled basis. He defended government from the charge of vacillation in shifting the franchise from 5*l.* to 8*l.*, and referred to the conduct of Sir R. Peel in conceding the repeal of the Test Act and of Lord Stanley in changing a loan to the West Indies compensation for the emancipation of slaves, of 15,000,000*l.* to one of 20,000,000*l.*

He admitted that by fixing the amount at 8*l.* many 10*l.* electors would be disfranchised; but, on the other hand, he thought that those evils would be more than counterbalanced by the facility given to the whole system of registration. This was the chief motive which induced him to call on the House to consent to the principle which would afford the electors the means of acquiring and safely keeping the privileges to which they were entitled [cheers], and, on the other hand, to avoid all that chicanery, fraud, and deceit, which was always urged on the other side of the House as an objection to the present system of registration, and which must always exist itself to every system in which no fixed standard of value existed, but in which the decision was left to be decided by the adverse testimony of conflicting parties [hear, hear].

Lord STANLEY, haughtily and passionately rebuked Lord Morpeth, and charged the government with pursuing a course characterised by recklessness and want of statesmanship, which disintitiled them to the confidence of the house, and which had shaken one of the very few and last remaining holds which they retained on the tolerance of the country. He complained of having been mis-represented.

He (Lord Stanley) was willing to take valuation for the purpose of rating as a test of the value of the property, but he was not willing to take the value of the property apart from the charges and incumbrances on it as the amount of qualification [cheers].

He impugned the accuracy of the returns—complained of the manner in which they had been produced, and said they had been only consistent in disregarding the provisions of the act of Parliament.

But how far they had done so, whether only 5 per cent in one case, and 50 per cent in another, could not be ascertained. All that the house knew officially of these returns was that they were printed by the Queen's stationer. Then again the secretary for Ireland could not even conjecture what the effect upon the constituency would be, were the house to affirm the clause under consideration. Taking, however, the papers before them as a sample, he (Lord Stanley) could only come to the conclusion that the constituency would be increased to an infinitely larger number than when it contained the 40s. freeholders.

He would merely add, that he opposed this clause because he objected to the principle of the beneficial interest being abandoned; because they had no certain evidence of the rate being a fair test at this moment of the valuation of the property; because the noble lord and Her Majesty's government could not give them the slightest idea what the practical effect of this measure would be, (and of their inability to do so, he need not say, had given the most conclusive proof); because they had in the first instance come down with a proposition for a 5*l.* rating, which they afterwards nearly doubled by the substitution of a rating of 8*l.*; and because they introduced this bill with a degree of haste and rashness, and want of information, which he thought most censurable [hear, hear]; and in declaring his opposition to the principle of this clause, the noble lord, the secretary for Ireland, being a better judge than he could be, how fatal or mortal an opposition to it might be, or in how critical a situation that opposition might place the bill—he spoke only of the bill, [laughter]—in declaring his intention to oppose this clause, containing, as it did, the vital principle of the measure, and conceiving that the government, with whom it properly rested to introduce the question, had done so with culpable negligence and want of information, he had only to say that he opposed it for the purpose of defeating the bill [loud cheers].

Mr. WOOD and Mr. HUME followed the noble lord, but introduced no new matter into the discussion.

Mr. O'CONNELL said the attempt made this session would do ministers a world of good in Ireland.

They had made an attempt fairly, and boldly, and honourably, to increase that constituency, which he thought no man would be hardy enough to assert, was at all proportionate to the population of Ireland, or the comparative population, representation, and revenue of England and Ireland. But it would not satisfy Ireland. He would not say that it would disturb the tranquillity of that country—that tranquillity which had been maintained by a course of administrative impartiality in Ireland on the part of a government disposed to do what they could for Ireland, by keeping the violent partizan from power, and the more violent bigot from wreaking his vengeance upon the people under the form of law, and by protecting the population from the sting of a faction which had been the curse, the misery, and the ruin of the country. But, for the present, the attempt would fail.

The House divided :—

For the clause 289
Against it 300
Majority against ministers 11

Lord JOHN RUSSELL observed, that unwillingness on the part of the House to allow an alteration in the franchise test did not surprise him so much as the ground, unintelligible to the government and the country, upon which the opposition had rested their objections. They would not depart from the principles of the acts now in force, but must have, as the basis of the franchise, a beneficial interest, and yet were ready to admit a change which would require no beneficial interest.

The hon. member for Kilkenny, as well as the hon. member for Finsbury, had in the course of the discussion, accused the government of vacillation, and complained that more firmness had not been shown by a stricter adherence to the original proposition with respect to the amount of the franchise. This conduct of the hon. gentleman brought strongly to his mind a scene in the *Rivals*, where the jealous lover Falkland having quarrelled with his mistress, who quits him in anger, calls her back, and when he imagines he hears her returning, exclaims, "What a weak, easy, yielding, and vacillating creature is woman." She does not come, however; upon which he says, "What then I find she's not coming after all. Was ever any person so perverse and obstinate." [laughter]. Such was and must be the situation of the present or of any other government as regarded a portion of its supporters.

The noble lord having vindicated the House which he declared was anxious to do justice to Ireland, concluded :—

He had nothing further to add respecting this bill. He should be most happy, if at some future time the various parties of which this house was composed, weighing and considering all the circumstances under which Ireland was placed, should be more disposed to agree in some measure to fix the franchise, and at the same time to improve the registration of Ireland, for he was satisfied that no such measure would secure the object in view, or cure the evils which now existed in this matter, unless it definitely fixed the franchise. He considered, after what had occurred, that any further discussion of the clauses of this bill would be useless, and that a further prolongation of discussions upon its details would only put off that which he trusted sooner or later would come to pass, namely, that agreement in Parliament in regard to the affairs of Ireland, which should show to the people of that country that their views were consulted in it, and that anything done in parliament must be done consistently with those constitutional principles, and with those great interests, which this government and this house were determined to maintain. He should now move that the chairman do leave the chair. [The noble lord sat down amidst loud cheers.]

Friday, 30.

A prodigious excitement was produced in the House of Commons at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, by a notice from Lord JOHN RUSSELL that about Whitsuntide he should move a committee for the revision of the corn laws.

THE BUDGET.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose to open what is commonly called the budget. He began by admitting that there had been a considerable deficiency in the income of last year as compared with the expenditure. The question would naturally be asked whence this deficiency had arisen? The answer was, from a falling off in the main sources of revenue—particularly on currants, molasses, spirits, sugar, tea, wine, and sheep's-wool. There had been some increase on butter, cheese, coffee, olive oil, pepper, raw silk, cotton wool, and one or two other articles. The diminution on tea, sugar, molasses, and spirits had arisen, not from disinclination to consume those articles, but from the increase of their price. There had been a considerable diminution of the excise duty on spirits in Ireland; but this he mentioned with sincere pleasure, because it arose from the improvement of the people in point of temperance. He enumerated several other items also, of smaller amount, in respect of which the excise duty had fallen off. There had been likewise a great disappointment in the revenue hoped for from the Post-office—not in consequence of the number of letters proving smaller than it had been calculated, but by reason of the unexpected expense. He would now state the estimated expenditure of next year:—

Interest of debt and other charges on the Consolidated Fund.....	£ 31,820,000
Army.....	6,587,000
Navy.....	6,806,000
Ordnance.....	2,075,000
Miscellaneous.....	2,935,000
Canada.....	108,000
China.....	400,000
Total.....	£50,731,000

He would now state his estimates of the revenue for meeting the foregoing charges:—

Customs.....	£ 22,000,000
Excise.....	14,000,000
Stamps.....	7,130,000
Taxes.....	4,300,000
Post-office, Crown-lands, and Miscellaneous....	880,000
Total.....	£48,310,000
Deficiency.....	2,421,000

The expenses of China, and some of the naval charges, being of a nature not likely to be permanent, he would make no permanent provision as to those expenses, which he would take at 600,000*l.* to be deducted from the 50,731,000*l.*, but he thought it would be requisite to make up the permanent revenue to 50,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. Last year he had been obliged to propose new taxes; and, if it were necessary, he should not shrink from proposing still further imposts: for he thought there was no taxation so injurious as the continuance of a disordered revenue. No small or mitigating measure would meet so great a defalcation: you must handle the subject with some boldness.

Now, as he was anxious to avoid adding to the burdens of the people, he would propose, as the House might perhaps have anticipated, to raise his revenue mainly by a modification of the duties on timber and on sugar. The duty on colonial timber was 10*s.* per load; on Baltic, 55*s.*, being a protecting duty of 450 per cent. He proposed to reduce the Baltic duty to 50*s.*, and raise the colonial duty to 20*s.*, in consonance with an intention formerly announced by Lord Althorp, and sanctioned by a committee. This would leave a protection of 30*s.*, and he expected from that change an additional revenue of 600,000*l.* Now, as to sugar. For the last two years the lower classes had suffered severely from the high price of this article, now almost a necessary of life, certainly one of the most important of the poor man's comforts. He proposed to leave the duty on colonial sugar, as now, at 24*s.* per cwt.; and to reduce the duty on foreign sugar from 3*l.* 3*s.* per cwt. to 36*s.*, retaining in both cases the 5 per cent. added last year. He estimated his gain from this change at 700,000*l.*, which, with the 600,000*l.* from the timber, would give a total of 1,300,000*l.* The duties upon corn, if the measures contemplated by Government, were effected, would provide for any remaining defalcation; but at all events he was determined to make up the deficiency of the revenue from some quarter or other. He did not wish to descant upon the corn laws in a financial statement; but he could not have properly omitted to touch on the question whether some relief might not be given to the country at large by dealing with the now protected classes. He then passed to the subject of foreign trade, and made some general observations on the benefits of liberality in commerce. When you press, said he, for facilities from foreign countries, what will they answer if they find that on this question of your own revenue you have refused to adopt liberal principles, even for the sake of relieving yourselves from taxation?

An animated debate ensued, in which most of the leading speakers took part. The announcement of Lord John Russell was somewhat further explained. He said that the measure they meant to propose would be a moderate fixed duty, and that it would be a *cabinet* measure in which ministers were united. The Tories did not hesitate to ascribe this sudden announcement to the determination of ministers to keep their places, and the necessity to which they had been driven by the previous night's vote. Much fault was found with government, especially by Sir R. Peel, that the house was to be left in ignorance of ministers' intentions, until the end of May. In reply, Lord J. Russell cited a precedent from a step of Sir R. Peel, who, some years ago, had given notice, before a Christmas recess, of a motion respecting the corn laws, to come on at the re-assembling of parliament, several weeks afterwards. Lord John added, that he would, however, so far concede as to state the nature of his plan in the course of the next week.

Monday, May 3.

PUNISHMENT OF DEATH BILL.

The House went into committee on the Punishment of Death Bill; but for some time it was difficult to follow the proceedings, owing to the noise occasioned by members retiring from the House. The preamble of the bill, and the first clause, after a brief discussion, were postponed. To the second clause, Lord John Russell raised some objections, in which he was supported by Sir R. Inglis, and Lord Dungannon, and opposed by Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, Sergeant Talfourd, and Mr. Ewart. On a division, the clause was negatived by a majority of 122 against 110.

On the fourth clause, to abolish capital punishment in the case of rape, a prolonged discussion arose. Sir Charles Douglas moved an amendment, which he ultimately withdrew, and the clause itself was negatived by a majority of 123 against 61. In the course of the discussion to which this clause gave rise, Sir R. Peel declared that he could not consent to abolish capital punishment for murder, attempts to murder, and rape.

On the next clause, to abolish capital punishment for attempts to murder, Mr. F. Kelly expressed regret at the declaration of Sir R. Peel, and then proceeded to speak at some length in support of the clause. In only one case in ten, after a conviction had been obtained, was death inflicted for this crime. Where the punishment was so rarely carried into execution, it ceased to operate upon the fears of offenders, and yet so long as the law attached the extreme penalty to the offence, it would always be difficult to prevail on juries to convict.

Sir R. INGLIS, who opposed the clause, denied that the object of the law was merely the prevention of crime. Punishment was also aimed at.

Mr. BROTHERTON denied that man, in any case, had the right to take away the life of man.

The clause was supported by Mr. Milnes, opposed by Mr. Law, Lord Dungannon, and Lord Mahon, and negatived, on a division, by 83 against 75. The sixth clause was rejected by 100 to 73.

Mr. KELLY then said that, opposed as his bill was by the whole force of government, he should not press his measure further that evening. Nor should he trouble the House any more with the bill, if the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) would without delay proceed with the government measure.

Mr. AGLIONBY reminded the hon. and learned gentleman that the support which he had received had come almost exclusively from the liberal side of the House, while the opposition to the bill had come chiefly from the hon. gentleman's own friends.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the measure had been discussed without any reference to party considerations. His lordship added that he would certainly go on with the government bills with the least possible delay.

The Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Monday, the 17th instant.

On the same night the House went into committee on the Criminal Justice Bill, of which the interest was chiefly local, arising out of the circumstances of the newly chartered boroughs.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 29.

The Earl of GLENGALL gave notice, that on Monday next he would bring the falsification of the Clonmel union returns under the consideration of the house.—The Marquis of NORMANBY said that ministers would not have retained in his situation the gentleman who had been guilty of those falsifications, but Mr. Stanley had anticipated any such step by tendering his own resignation. Every noble lord who had heard his examination would probably admit that there was no guile in Mr. Stanley, and that his character was perfectly unimpeached.

Earl FITZWILLIAM presented some petitions against the corn laws, and said, that with a falling revenue, if parliament resolved to keep up the corn laws, they would at last be obliged to have recourse to a property tax.—Earl STANHOPE said, if government went on repealing taxes, a declining revenue must be the consequence.—Lord ASHBURTON did not consider the revenue to be a declining one. The reduction of the postage had led to a serious fall; but that did not imply that the resources of the country were not in a flourishing condition.

Earl STANHOPE said, that when the bill now in the House of Commons, to continue the inordinate powers of the poor-law commission, came before their lordships he should move that it be read a second time, that day six months.

The Earl of HADDINGTON adverted to a statement of Lord Normanby on a former evening, that Mr. Candlish's appointment to the proposed Biblical Professorship in Edinburgh university had been abandoned, and the conflicting statement of Mr. Fox Maule in the House of Commons, that the result would depend upon ulterior proceedings. Lord NORMANBY said, that Mr. Maule had certainly alluded to ulterior proceedings; but at the same time, he said they could not be expected to influence Lord Normanby's ultimate intentions. If, however, the interdiction which Mr. Candlish had broken, were pronounced invalid, his character would stand in a somewhat different light. But it was not the intention of the government in the present state of the Scottish church, to follow up the original intention of creating the professorship. The Earl of ABERDEEN remarked, that the validity of the interdiction did not affect the case; for Mr. Candlish was as much bound to obey it in the first instance as an injunction in chancery: he might have moved its repeal, but he had not done so. The conversation then dropped.

Friday, April 30.

After the presentation of some petitions, the drainage bill (on the motion of the Marquis of NORMANBY) went through a committee.

The report of the committee on the buildings regulation bill was received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

The South Australian bill (after a few words from the Duke of WELLINGTON) went through a committee, and the house adjourned till Monday.

Monday, May 3.

CORN LAWS.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM presented one hundred and twenty petitions chiefly from places in Buckinghamshire, against any alteration in the corn laws. He said they were signed before the extraordinary announcement which was made last week, but he had received communications from several of the places petitioning, stating that the petitioners would trouble the House again with their addresses, in order to express the astonishment which they had felt at the announcement thus made; and these, and all

other parties interested in this vital question, would be impressed with deep regret to find that the noble lord at the head of the government had joined his colleagues in threatening a measure which would be productive of ruin to the best interests of the country [vehement opposition cheering]. The agriculturists did not ask monopoly under any circumstances [hear, hear], they simply asked not to be deprived of that protection which the other classes of her Majesty's subjects possessed. He had certainly never expected that the noble lord opposite would join his colleagues in proposing so fatal a measure [hear, hear]. After what the noble lord had repeatedly said in that house, on the subject, they had some reason to expect his support on this occasion, or at least they certainly had not had reason to believe that the government, of which he was the chief, would come forward with a measure for the repeal of the corn-laws [loud cheers from the opposition members]. In reply to a noble lord, introducing a proposition on this subject, the noble viscount said:—"His noble friend had carefully abstained from stating what it was that he meant to do—whether his object was to have a fixed duty, or a diminution of the present ascending and descending scale; but whichever of these alternatives was his noble friend's plan, as he saw clearly and distinctly that that object would not be carried without a most violent struggle, without causing much ill-blood, and a deep sense of grievance, without stirring society to its foundations, and leaving behind every sort of bitterness and animosity, he did not think that the advantages to be gained by the change were worth the evils of the struggle, by which their lordships might depend on it the change could alone be effected. They had seen great changes at no distant period—changes which had stirred society from the bottom, which had excited man against man, divided the whole country into parties, and left behind the deepest feeling of discord and enmity. He, for one, was not for adding to those feelings, by rashly adventuring to stir and agitate them, and upon those general grounds he felt himself justified in saying 'no' to the motion of the noble earl" [loud cheering]. It was to prevent the recurrence of such fearful struggles as those which the noble viscount here pointed out that he (the Duke of Buckingham) hoped that their lordships would resist the proposition announced to the utmost [cheers].

Viscount MELBOURNE thought it necessary to reply. He was aware that on many occasions he had stated that there were various reasons and grounds which rendered any agitation or discussion of the corn-laws liable to great objection, and pregnant with danger; but at the same time, he must beg leave to remind their lordships, that on every occasion on which he had addressed them on the subject, he had always stated, that whatever might be his opposition to the consideration of this question, it was on all these occasions based upon particular and temporary grounds [hear, hear]; and that on the measure itself, he had always reserved his opinion [hear]. He had always said that he would not pledge himself to the law as it at present stood; that the time must come when it would be necessary for Parliament to take this question into consideration with reference to its settlement on another basis from that on which it stood at present [hear, hear]. No doubt many passages might be found in his addresses to the house from time to time expressive of an objection to entertain this subject on those particular occasions, and he did not at the present moment deny but that there might be great weight in that objection at the time; but he would, on the other hand, beg to call the attention of the noble duke and of the house to a passage in a speech of his last session, upon the occasion of a motion by a noble earl (Earl Fitzwilliam) upon this subject. His words were these: "Unquestionably my noble friend has put his motion in such a shape as to make it a matter of no difficulty to meet it, on the single issue on which he places it. The noble earl sets forth that it is expedient to reconsider the laws respecting the importation of foreign corn. Now I am distinctly of opinion that it is inexpedient to do so. At the same time, I do not mean to pledge myself to the maintenance of the existing laws, or in any respect to the amount of duty. This is no question of stubborn or unbending principle, from which I cannot pledge myself not to swerve. Considerations of various kinds, of political economy or policy, considerations intimately connected with the state of the country may arise, which may not only justify, but render necessary, the adoption of a different course; but under present circumstances I do not think it wise or prudent to enter into the consideration of the question" [hear, hear]. Now he (Viscount Melbourne) would venture to say that it was impossible to devise words more clear and distinct, to give intimation to the house and to the country, of what were his real opinion and feeling on this subject [hear, hear, hear]. He had unequivocally stated that in his conviction a time might come, and that circumstances might arise, which might render it absolutely necessary that this question, with all its difficulties, all its inconveniences and all its disadvantages, should be considered and discussed [cheers]. These circumstances, in his opinion, had now arisen; that time, in his mind, had now come [cheers from the ministerial benches; met by vehement counter-cheers from the opposition]; the time was come when it was found that, in order to meet the exigencies of the country, it was necessary to take wide, large, and extensive financial measures, affecting almost all our other interests of a commercial nature at home and abroad; and, under such circumstances, it was manifestly impossible to leave this great, this main, this master interest unaffected and unapproached [cheers]. Upon these grounds it was that he had changed the opinions which he had formerly held on this subject [ironical cheers from the opposition]; opinions then grounded upon temporary considerations, referring simply to the time and mode of bringing forward this question, and not upon the principle or real bearing of the measure itself [hear].

The Earl of RIBON had heard, with deep regret, the speech of the noble viscount; not merely on account of the great interest involved in this question, but also on account of the noble lord himself [cheers]; for, if the noble viscount could not produce, when they came to discuss this question, more plain, more satisfactory, more intelligible grounds for the change of opinion he had avowed, he (Earl of Ribon) did not know what the noble viscount's country would think of him; but this he was sure of, that he could no longer conduct the government in that house.

The Earl of WINCHELSEA said it was quite clear that government considered this as a measure of taxation, and he, as one connected with the landed interest of the country, was prepared to say, that he would rather see any tax imposed upon that interest than one which taxed the chief article of food of the people [hear, hear]. He trusted that the country to a man would resist this tax on bread [hear, hear]. The protection given to the landed interest of this country was for the purpose of rendering them independent of foreign supplies, and to enable them to supply the labouring classes with bread at as low a price as it could be grown at [hear, hear]. It was a maxim, established by the experience of all ages, that no country could be called independent that did not supply itself with the necessities of life. It was on this principle that he had supported the existing corn-laws; and if they were prepared to be abandoned now—if a tax was to be laid on that article which was the main subsistence of the labouring classes of the country, in God's name, let them all rise as one man, in that House [laughter] and out of that House, and let the higher classes do their duty by the lower classes. Let a tax be laid on anything else; but, in God's name, let them not suffer a tax to be laid upon the poor man's food [hear, hear]. The proposition of government was not an honest and straightforward one—it was merely to excite a popular cry of cheap bread throughout

the country for their own purposes. The budget of the present year, and the proposition now referred to, would, if carried out, tend at once to deprive the poor of this country of their means of sustenance; but he (the Earl of Winchelsea) was sure that such a feeling would be raised throughout the country as would tend to the downfall of the government [hear, hear].

The conversation then dropped.

A petition from the seven suspended clergymen of Strathbogie, presented by Lord DUNFERMLINE, praying that the indictment against them might be laid before their lordships, led to a discussion of some length.

The Earl of GLENGALL, pursuant to notice, moved a resolution to declare that Mr. Stanley, in the falsification of the returns of the Clonmel Union, had been guilty of a gross contempt of the authority of the House.

The Earl of WICKLOW thought the resolution more severe than the case called for. Mr. Stanley had been actuated by no improper motive, and could therefore be hardly said to have been guilty of contempt of the House. Government were scarcely justified in accepting the resignation of Mr. Stanley before the House of Lords had come to a decision.

The Marquess of NORMANBY thought it undeniable that Mr. Stanley had been guilty of a contempt of the House.

The Duke of WELLINGTON attributed the chief blame of the whole occurrence to the poor-law commissioners; but was not the less of opinion that the resolution must be agreed to.

The Marquess of NORMANBY and the Marquess of WESTMEATH said a few words; after which the resolution was carried without further opposition.

The Earl of GLENGALL moved that Mr. Stanley be ordered to attend at the bar on Friday week; but some objections raised by the Marquess of Normanby and Lord Ellenborough were acceded to, and the motion was withdrawn.

* STATISTICS.—The total amount of salaries and other payments received in 1840 by the poor law commissioners and by all the assistant commissioners, and allowances for clerks, &c., in England, was 41,831*l.*, and in Ireland, 19,435*l.*, making the total expense of the commission 61,266*l.* The amount of printing expenses incurred in 1840 by the poor law commission was altogether 3,320*l.*—The total amount appropriated out of the consolidated fund to the charge of the civil list in the year ending the 5th of January, 1841, appears to have been 387,742*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*—The total amount of sums paid for interest on exchequer bills in the year ending the 5th of January, 1841, was 642,997*l.*—The estimate of the sums required for the pay, allowances, and contingent expenses of the commissariat department at home and abroad, &c., for the year ending the 31st of March, 1842, amounts altogether to 213,356*l.*, which shows an increase over the estimates for the year ending the 31st of March, 1841, of 6,408*l.*—The total expenses of the Dean Forest Mining Commission, from the 27th of July, 1838, to the 18th of March 1841, appears to have been 5,163*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*—The number of prisoners confined in the Millbank Penitentiary, in the course of the year 1836, was 617; in the year 1837, 736; in 1838, 780; in 1839, 715; and in 1840, 1,407.—The estimates of the sums required for charitable institutions and miscellaneous services in Ireland for the year 1841-42, is 345,755*l.*

—Quarterly average of the weekly liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, from the 2d of February to the 27th of April, 1841, both inclusive.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Circulation	£16,587,000	Securities	£22,082,000
Deposits	7,225,000	Bullion	4,638,000
	£23,812,000		£26,720,0

STOPPAGE OF WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.—On Monday morning, in consequence of the rapid sinking of the arches of Westminster Bridge on the Middlesex side, the carriage-way was blocked up by order of the committee. Notwithstanding the heavy sum that has been expended on the repairs of this bridge, near 100,000*l.* in ten years, it will be necessary, before it can be opened again, to expend some thousands more, and the repairs now in contemplation will occupy several months.

Mr. Edward Dyer Sanderson has been appointed Chief Justice of Tobago in place of Mr. Finn, whose appointment has been cancelled.

Mr. Wyndham Harrington Schenley has been appointed commissioner of Arbitration to the Mixed Commission established at Surinam, under the Treaty of May, 1818, between Great Britain and the Netherlands for the suppression of the slave trade.

EXTENSION OF VACCINATION.—On account of the attention directed to vaccination by the act of last session, the increase in the application both for Vaccination and the *Vaccine virus* at the Royal Jennerian and London Vaccine Institution has been threefold. The Medical Director has vaccinated one thousand five hundred and two more children, this year, from January 1st to March 25th, than he vaccinated from and to the same dates last year.

HENLEY PEERAGE.—The House of Lords, has decided that Lord Henley had established his claim to vote in the election of Irish representative peers.

POSTSCRIPT.

The House of Commons met, and forty members not being present at four o'clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the house till to-morrow.

In the House of Lords last night, upon Lord Normanby's motion that the Drainage of Towns Bill should be read a third time, the Duke of Wellington required that the city of Oxford should be exempted from the operation of the measure, as its provisions could be carried into effect by the civic authorities under a local act as well as by the commissioners to be appointed under the bill.

Lord Lyndhurst claimed a similar exemption in behalf of Cambridge, as did also Lord Ripon in behalf of Birmingham; and although Lord Normanby at first strenuously resisted, a clause was ultimately introduced to exclude such towns as had already local acts from the operation of the bill. One or two other amendments were afterwards made, and the bill was then read a third time and passed.

Similar amendments were made in the Boroughs Improvement Bill, which was also passed; and the house then adjourned.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A poor Man" will be inserted next week, entire, and we shall be glad to receive any further communications from him.

Official Assignees.—We are prevented by want of time and space from pursuing the subject of the bankruptcy system this week, but we shall notice in our next the startling observations of Mr. Commissioner Merivale, who has volunteered an extraordinary lecture, to the creditors' assignees, because two of the official assignees proved themselves rogues.

"Henry" is declined, rather because it is too long, than from any disapproval of his letter.

Mr. Palfrey's letter has been received, and will be attended to next week.

"A Gentile" shall be inserted when our columns are less crowded.

"J. Humphreys" has been received.

"Primitivus" is respectfully declined.

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.

For 8 lines 5s. 0d.	For 16 lines... 7 0	For 24 lines... 9 0
10..... 5 6	18..... 7 6	26..... 9 6
12..... 6 0	20..... 8 0	28..... 10 0
14..... 6 6	22..... 8 6	Every additional 2 lines, 6d

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1841.

LAW-MAKERS AND LAW-BREAKERS.

Merciful to our race, we doubt not, is the dispensation of Heaven, that society, as well as nature, should have its law of gravitation. Better on the whole that there should be a strong and uniform tendency to settle down quietly on things 'as they are' whilst things are barely tolerable. Better that in general, we should all feel the sway of a principle

"That makes us rather bear the ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of."

Men not habituated to reflect as well as observe, talk of it as a lamentable check upon improvement—a drag-chain upon the chariot-wheel of Reform. 'Tis not so, when well considered—rather, a beautiful conservative principle—the balance-wheel of society, steadying its movements, economising its energies, preventing it from flying to pieces by its own inherent force.

Such a law, however, selfish legislators may abuse too far. The passive endurance of society has its limits—not for ever can men submit to have their common sense trifled with, their feelings disregarded, their rights trampled under foot, their houses pillaged, their families broken up and rendered desolate. No! not for ever! Especially when those who perpetrate the wrong, under the shield of law escape that vengeance which, in the case of any but law-makers, is both swift and heavy.

Strangely partial in its judgments is public opinion in this country—too often, palpably unjust. The rich plunderer is respected, petted, applauded—the poor one, let him not look for mercy. Now as ever "the weakest goes to the wall."

Illustrations are too abundant. One specimen will be enough. The man whose princely residence, the core of a rich estate, stands compassed round with parked and shaven acres,—wants money. Expensive connections, luxurious habits, fetes, fancy-balls, and christenings, have drained his purse. He steps into his carriage,—four splendid blood horses whirl him off to town—he proceeds, guarded by military, to the senate—and under the protection of sabre and bayonet, he votes that they who wring a precarious subsistence from 'the sweat of their brow,' shall buy their corn of him at double its market worth, and yield, perforce, half their well-earned meals to augment his income. Without a symptom of compunction, he lays violent hands upon the property of his humble neighbour—denudes him of rights bestowed upon him by his maker—fills his own pocket with the proceeds of a double robbery—and is whirled back again to his country-seat to moralise from the bench of justice, upon the growing depravity of the age. Society looks on, and makes no comment—bows to the noble, as he passes by, and expatiates enthusiastically upon the generous, manly, high-toned character of English gentlemen.

Well! society is lenient in its judgment—inclined to put a charitable construction upon motives, rather than hastily and harshly condemn. Charity is a good thing—far be it from us to breathe a whisper in its depreciation; but then it should be even-handed. The poor wretch, half of whose scanty wages earned by unmitigated toil is wrested from him by unfeeling legislators, driven mad by the cries of hungry children for bread, prowls forth in the hour of darkness, trespasses upon the domains of a neighbouring aristocrat, shoots or snares his game, is detected in the crime, and without mercy is consigned to prison and the treadmill. Cold charity may he look for. Society scowls upon him as a dishonest man, and again praises the justice of our laws.

We have no sympathy with dishonesty, meet with it where we will. All attempts to justify it are worse than useless. But then, robbery is *always* robbery, whether embodied in the acts of law-makers or law-breakers—whether committed by selfish aristocrats or by prowling poachers; and we hold that charity which can smile upon it with all complacency in the one case, whilst it turns its back upon it in the other, a very equivocal, hybrid sort of charity after all.

Analyze the two cases, and wherein do they differ. The maxim of both men is, "Get, get at the expense of others—get at the sacrifice of every dictate of morality—get by the agency of physical force." Thus far the cases are identical. They differ only in this point—that the motive in the first is extravagance—in the last, want.

"Glorious constitution!" exclaim the law-makers. "Glorious

constitution," reiterate the fifteen thousand sentinels of despotism whom our state church has stationed over our land, and who share in the spoil; and the myriads who receive their opinions at second hand without troubling themselves to examine what stuff they are made of, right lustily join in the chorus, and bawl till they are hoarse "glorious constitution!"

The noise will die away at last. The din and clamour will cease. A breeze of pure, healthy common-sense will clear the political atmosphere of smoke and dust, and the people of Great Britain will discover that in the midst of the shouting, clapping, hurraing, and *feu-de-joie* firing, they have lost at once their purses and their liberty.

THE NEW TUB FOR THE WHALE.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said: I beg to give notice, that on Monday, the 31st of May, I shall move that this house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the acts relating to the trade in corn.—*Morning Chronicle of Saturday.*

The announcement comes immediately after divisions against ministers, upon a measure which as a portion of the aristocracy they had no great desire to carry, but which divisions followed immediately by an ominous intimation from the Nottingham chartists, put them under a necessity of resigning or finding a new pretence for the middle classes to hang their hopes upon.

It immediately preceded, too, an announcement of a deficient revenue unaccompanied, as the "noble lord" knew it would be, by any suggestions for a diminished expenditure.

The deficiency arises from the duties imposed upon articles of consumption, most of them necessities, or at least pertaining to the ordinary comforts of the people, and that proceeding from the inability of the people to purchase. But like all the whig measures, no principle is put forth or adopted. The protecting duties, so called, the absurdity of which has been so clearly demonstrated by the report on which the whigs profess to act, are to be preserved; and the expenditure notwithstanding the admitted poverty of the people, is to be increased, that is, in the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—the income is to be raised to fifty millions, and experience has taught the people that it is the aristocratic practice to expend all that is raised, and something more.

What is to be done, is to be done by a modification of bad principles, not by adopting good ones. The people will believe that all this comes from a desire to avoid a property tax, that just principle of taxation, which is the dread of the aristocracy, and that the section of the aristocracy from whom it proceeds, yield it as a tub to the whale, because otherwise a turn out is inevitable. Though a desirable thing in itself and therefore to be welcomed, we fear it is too late to satisfy the people.

The middle classes in agitating for the abolition of the Corn Laws, have, by their admirable reasonings against those abominable exactions made the people understand, in a great degree the philosophy of taxation.

The leading manufacturers composed of rampant Tories as well as Whigs, have been led by the attacks which those laws made upon their pockets, to prove their iniquity by their lectures and publications, and the people have seen that the same reasoning applies in principle to every indirect tax; that the expenses of society are incurred in order to protect property, and that property ought to bear the cost it occasions, each possessor paying in proportion to the quantity he requires to have insured to himself.

The rich men among the manufacturers who are as aristocratic in spirit, and as hungry after baronetries, and placing their progeny in connection with the aristocracy, as the aristocracy are exclusive and cold, have opened to the people more upon subjects of economical science, than as rich men with aristocratical aspirations, they themselves desired the people should know. The aristocracy are as a class exclusive and cold, and are ignorant of the wants of that society above which they live, and upon which they ride. They are infatuated, and like most of those who are so visited, are cutting their own legs from under them. Take the present concession. The section is driven to yield without thanks, or the chance of receiving them from the many, those things which granted in time would have been received with contentment and gratitude, and have set up their order for another half century or two, or even more. So the duke and Sir Robert were driven to yield catholic emancipation, and neither section can justly scold the other, though the people may justly say to both, "we owe you nothing;" there is a Providence that uses you both, to whom, and not to you, our thanks are due.

The whig section of the great tax-sharers have been peculiarly demented, for at the same time that they made professions, which excited and justified the expectation of relief from a selfish system, they put in action a cruel and sudden transitional experiment upon the people through the poor-laws, without repealing the anti-food laws, telling the poor they must be taught independence. You must work and buy, said they, and not beg, but you shall not buy bread, unless you give your landlords threepence for permission to purchase every sixpenny loaf, and just as they thought like demented things they were strong enough to tell the middle classes, the reform bill was intended by us to give the landed interest the ascendancy, you must be mad to think we shall propose that you shall be relieved from the starvation laws; just then, the crisis arrived, and the pitiable Lord John who said this ascendancy was intended, comes down and eats his own words in the presence, and amid the taunts of the other set, who barked the louder, because he was recanting a sin they were themselves inclined to.

His lordship has only proposed to "consider" the subject as yet, and he intended that the consideration should be postponed, until after Whitsuntide, a manifest sign of an intention to push over the

session. We trust, however, they will be driven to pledge themselves to something definite, not that their pledges are worth much, nay, the pledge of the House of Commons itself in a solemnly recorded resolution is worth nothing, as is testified to the country by the continued imprisonment of Mr. Baines of Leicester. If we can go lower than worthlessness, the pledge of half the body, must, therefore, be of still less value.

SINCE we wrote our preceding article on the ministerial announcement relative to the corn laws, we have been anxious to find ground for confidence in the sincerity of the ministry. The announcement of Lord John Russell, it will be remembered, commits him to nothing but a motion to *consider* the acts relating to the trade in corn. We have since watched the ministerial oracle the *Chronicle*, but alas! it seems to know nothing.

Its double-headed leader on Saturday was headed, in very large letters, "Abolition of the Corn Monopoly," and we were really deceived into the belief that in an article so headed we should find something decisive, and the editor does proceed in a very boastful strain, as though something was really coming. "Had a shell been thrown into the House of Commons it could not," he says, "have produced greater consternation than the notice"—"the most tumultuous excitement took place"—and the people are told that "the question now rests with them."

"The Reformers of all shades received it with acclamation, and saw that by union and combined effort alone they could hope to turn the *justice* of ministers to good account."

The union and energy of the people are then spoken of in relation to the Reform Bill. "These," says the editor, "were proud days for England. What has been done once may be done again," and so he goes on to imply that it must be done again. We should have been glad if the *Morning Chronicle* had shown any grounds the people have for confidence in the whigs, for it goes on to tell us that ministers can only hope to succeed by the support of the people. Why then not show us grounds for confidence? Why not point out that it was impossible to suspect them of a mere ruse to keep place? We wish we could see that the dissenters, or the friends of religious freedom, or the people generally, have grounds for confidence. "Political rights," the editor says, in the same article, "are means to an end—the well-being of the people. Important as the Reform Bill was, the abolition of the corn monopoly is still more so. It is the practical completion of the Reform Bill."

The people—for the many are entitled to be so called—do not possess political rights; they do not possess the means to the end; that is, they do not possess the franchise, which is the means of promoting their well-being; they, therefore, cannot support his friends the ministers in what he is pleased to term the practical completion of the Reform Bill. We add two other sentences from these articles, just to show how extravagant are the expectations of the whigs, and how extremely moderate is the knowledge they choose to intimate of their said-to-be-intended measure. Let them—"the British people, show that they have a proper sense of the duties which now devolve on them."

How overwhelming is the duty arising out of Lord John's having said he will move, one month hence, that the House shall *consider*! Why, the House *RESOLVED* in 1839 that no such case as Thorogood's should occur again, and there stands the resolution, to their reproach, on their journals, and Mr. Baines has been now nearly six months in gaol. Happy nation, to have the word of such a minister that he will move that that House *do consider* the corn laws!

"Lord John Russell has not communicated the particulars of his scheme, though from the stress laid upon it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his budget, we are led to infer that it is intended to place the corn trade on a liberal footing. We trust that our anticipations will be fully realized."

Well, we can only say we hope they may, if the *Morning Chronicle* anticipates what the heading of its article affirmed—"THE ABOLITION OF THE CORN LAW," but we hope almost against hope.

On Monday it returns to the charge with an evident desire to write up excitement, and says that "Ministers having thrown themselves on the nation, the response will soon be heard in thunder."

The gentleman who does the city article of course agrees with the editor, and he says, "the chief satisfaction is in the glorious feeling that Great Britain has taken the lead, and shown an example of enlightened commercial legislation," and that the commercial body hail with gratitude "a moderate fixed duty."

So in one day the abolition of the corn laws announced in splendid capitals, has sunk to a moderate fixed duty; this is not growing "small by degrees," but by strides, and we dare say the blessing will not be long in growing beautifully less. He tells us, further, that the commercial world see that "the Chancellor of the Exchequer is no nibbler at principles." After this we could not go further. Another sentence would really have been too much—to talk about principle, when he is merely modifying on both sides of the scale. This is really too bad on the part of the writer of the city article.

We return to the editor, and we see the truth peeping out.

"Let it be remembered," he says, "that all anti-bread-tax associations and committees are also preparatory arrangements for the election contests that may ensue." Which being translated, means "carry us into parliament again on your shoulders, and then we will allow the tory section to rule you." Here is the motive and the end; they have been beaten, well beaten, in the House; they would not, had they done justice to their own professions; but their fears as an aristocracy are greater than their fears about their character for consistency; and therefore, though they have declared that the landed interest was intended to be maintained in the ascendant, and the prime minister had even said that the minister who

would abolish the corn laws must be mad, yet anything rather than an organic change. They promise the middle classes to consider of a palliative. They do not propose to give *them* what they ask. They propose "a moderate fixed duty," for they "do not nibble at a principle." We earnestly desire the abolition of the corn laws; but we distrust the ministry. They will find, we think, that they have tried the patience of the people too long to justify any hope of their rallying to carry in the whigs again.

SUMMARY.

THE loss of the Nottingham election was a "heavy blow and discouragement" to the ministry. It was not simply the loss of two votes from their "working majority" at a most anxious time, but it indicated a spirit amongst the people which our easy government have not hitherto permitted themselves to suspect.

This "untoward event" was followed by others, not less ominous. A majority against ministers on Lord Howick's amendment upon the franchise clause of the Irish Registration Bill, was scarcely explained by Lord John Russell, as being of no great importance, not at all affecting the principle of the bill, when down came, unexpectedly it seems, blow the second—the clause having been rejected "in toto" by a majority of eleven.

On the succeeding evening, Parliament was electrified by a *coup d'état* of the cabinet. It was announced by the Colonial Secretary that on the 31st of May he should move that the House consider the corn-laws. The cheering and groaning of the numerous members of the two great parties who were then present in the house are described as unparalleled. No enthusiasm has been kindled out of doors. People's passions are just now like damp powder—they will not inflame. All parties laugh at the announcement—not that it is unimportant in itself, but that none believe in the sincerity of ministers, and look upon this as a new trick to retain office.

Foreign news is not important, with the exception of that from the United States. The President, Gen. Harrison, died of pleurisy brought on by inattention to his own health, and probably by anxiety forced upon him suddenly, in consequence of his elevation to office. The Vice-President, who succeeds him for the remainder of the term, will carry out the policy of Gen. Harrison. The President steam-ship has not yet been heard of.

The Religious Intelligence of this week is full and of deep interest. We have devoted eight additional pages exclusively to reports of May meetings, and shall continue to do so weekly until they have closed.

GENERAL POLITICS.

FOREIGN.

UNITED STATES.—The steam-ship, British Queen, arrived at Liverpool early on Wednesday. No intelligence had been received at New York relative to the President steam-ship up to midday on the 11th ult. The most important news is the melancholy death of the President of the United States, General Harrison, who died at Washington on the morning of the 4th ult.

Mr. Tyler, the Vice-President, had, according to the constitution, succeeded to the Presidency, on the death of General Harrison. He arrived at Washington on the morning of the 6th ult. On the same day he had an interview with the heads of the departments, and made known his wish that they would continue to fill the offices they had held under General Harrison: he stated also, it is reported, his intention to carry out all the deceased President's measures. The President then took and subscribed the oath of office. On the 8th he issued an address to the people of the United States, setting forth the principles and the policy which will guide him during his term of office. We subjoin a passage or two from it:—

"While I shall sedulously cultivate the relations of peace and amity with one and all, it will be my most imperative duty to see that the honour of the country shall sustain no blemish. With a view to this, the condition of our military defences will become a matter of anxious solicitude. The army, which has in other days covered itself with renown, and the navy, not inappropriately termed the right arm of the public defence, which has spread a light of glory over the American standard in all the waters of the earth, should be rendered replete with efficiency.

"Freedom of opinion will be tolerated, the full enjoyment of the right of suffrage will be maintained as the birthright of American citizens; but I say emphatically to the official corps, 'Thus far and no farther.' I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because removals from office are likely to arise, and I would have my countrymen to understand the principle of the executive action.

"All sinecures should be abolished. The appropriations should be direct and explicit, so as to leave as limited a share of discretion to the disbursing agents as may be found compatible with the public service. A strict responsibility on the part of all agents of the government should be maintained, and peculation or defalcation visited with immediate expulsion from office, and the most condign punishment."

FRANCE.—The Paris papers of Friday contain no news of importance. The ministerial journals exult in a discovery which they assert leaves no doubt as to the fact that the letters imputed to the King by the *France* newspaper were infamous forgeries.

The *Moniteur* publishes the law granting the minister of the interior an extraordinary credit of 1,000,000 f. for secret service purposes in 1841.

The same official journal announces that the King, on the occasion of the christening of the Count de Paris, had pardoned 156 convicts, commuted the penalties of 28, and remitted the accessory penalty of exposure (in the pillory) of 3, and that he had extended his clemency to 520 soldiers sentenced to various penalties by courts-martial.

Lord Granville continues to improve gradually in health, though his lordship is not yet in a state to take carriage airings.

SPAIN.—The Madrid journals and private letters of the 24th ult. have come to hand.

The mixed committee of deputies and senators had already met

twice, without being able to come to an understanding on the subject of the Regency.

It was not Cabrera (as alleged by some journals), but Tristany, who had made his appearance in Spain.

PORTUGAL.—The Royal Tar steamer, which left Gibraltar on the 22d, and Lisbon on the 26th, arrived on Saturday. The conditions of the commercial treaty negotiated with England had not transpired; but it was current that they had been transmitted home by Lord Howard de Walden for the consideration of his government.

Baron Tojal had succeeded in finding money to pay off a portion of the arrears due to the officers of the army, and had transmitted considerable sums to pay the troops in the Algarves and elsewhere. The bank had made a further advance of 150 contos. The contracts for the new treasury bills were to be open till the end of the month.

Baron Lagos had not succeeded in inducing the Portuguese government to modify the decree of conversion according to his wishes. The original decree is to be adhered to.

The guerillas in the Algarves had again become troublesome, and continued their career of robbery in increased numbers.

The Countess of Durham and family came from Gibraltar to Cadiz in the Royal Tar, and were expected at Lisbon.

There were rumours at Lisbon that the ministry would be completed by Senhor Floridos coming in as Home Minister, and Senhor Fransini as Minister of Marine and Colonies. Also that Baron Rendulfe was finally to go to Madrid, where, however, the Marquis Saldanha is to stay for the present.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

The Queen held a levee on Wednesday afternoon at St. James's Palace. Her Majesty and Prince Albert, accompanied by his serene highness the Prince of Leiningen, arrived from Buckingham Palace shortly before two o'clock, with the usual escort.

A Cabinet Council was held at the Foreign office on Saturday, at one o'clock. All the ministers were present.

The *Standard* says, that Mr. Gordon, one of the secretaries of the Treasury, has signed, on account of his irreconcilable hostility to the budget. The same paper asserts that Lord Worsley, member for Lincolnshire, has withdrawn his support from government in consequence of their determination to attempt a repeal of the corn-laws.

The Spitalfield's Weavers' Ball, it is supposed, will be one of the most brilliant entertainments that have taken place for some years past. The Queen and Prince Albert have signified their intention to be present, and all the members of the royal family, with the exception of the Duchess of Kent, who, we understand, contemplates visiting Germany. It is also expected that the Queen Dowager, providing her majesty's health permits, will grace the ball by her presence. The proceeds are likely to leave, after all expenses, a handsome fund for the relief of the distressed silk weavers in that metropolitan district, and a great impulse will be given to the silk trade from the desire of the Queen that all ladies attending the ball should wear dresses of Spitalfields' manufacture.

LONDON INSTITUTION.—The anniversary meeting was held on Wednesday in the large theatre of the institution at Moorfields, Sir Thomas Baring, Bart., president, in the chair. The most important circumstance announced was the establishment of a professorship of experimental philosophy, for which object the possession of a most convenient laboratory and extensive apparatus presented them with great facilities. Mr. W. R. Grove, F.R.S. was appointed the first professor. The report stated the receipts of the last year 3,815*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, of which there remained a balance of 65*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* in the hands of the treasurer. The present invested capital of the institution is 37,630*l.* in the three per cents. reduced and consolidated Annuities.

Last week a deputation from Manchester on the import duties, had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Downing-street. A deputation from Liverpool, headed by Lord Sandon and Mr. Creswell, had an interview with Lord John Russell at the Colonial-office, on the subject of the new poor-law. A deputation of the rectifying distillers of London had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Downing-street. A deputation from the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, in support of a revision of the import duties; and a deputation from the town of Liverpool, in support of a revision of the import duties, had an interview with Viscount Melbourne in Downing-street. Mr. Flood, the vestry-clerk of St. Marylebone, had an interview with the Marquis of Normanby at the Home-office, and delivered an address to her Majesty from the ratepayers of that parish against the poor-law bill. A deputation of glass-makers had an interview with Mr. Labouchere at the office of the Board of Trade.

The following address has been issued by the Metropolitan Anti-corn-law Association:—"Fellow countrymen, our course of peaceful agitation has now arrived at its crisis. We have sown the seed—the field is white unto harvest—shall it be reaped and garnered, or left to rot upon the ground? The cabinet has transferred the responsibility for the existence of the bread tax from itself to you. The struggle now lies betwixt thirty thousand landholders and the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. Be up, then, and doing. Convene public meetings in every city, town, village, and hamlet throughout broad Britain. Let every district have its wardmote. Where parish officers do not of their own accord assemble the inhabitants, let them be called upon to do so by requisition. The citizens of London have on all suitable occasions protested against the corn-laws. Common consistency dictates that the livery should now act both collectively and in their several wards. Let all branch anti-corn-law associations redouble their efforts. Carry petitions from house to house for signature, and send them to Parliament for presentation by thousands. Let every man act as if the issue depended on himself. Scorn intimidation—let ordinary business look after itself for the time. *This is business.* Make but one mighty effort, and victory is certain."

On Monday evening a meeting for the abolition of the corn-laws was held at Deptford, Mr. Wade in the chair, Colonel Thompson was present and addressed the meeting at some length dwelling very forcibly upon the evils arising from the present state of the law. Num-

bers went away not being able to gain admission. A petition was adopted and numerous signed.

The Court of Queen's Bench was crowded on Monday last, in anticipation of judgment being passed in the Waldegrave case. The indictment charged George Edward, Earl of Waldegrave, and William Duff, with assaulting police constable C. J. Wheatley, on the night of the 4th of June last, whilst in the execution of his duty. The defendants pleaded *guilty* and Mr. Justice Patterson sentenced them to be imprisoned in the Marshalsea for six months; Lord Waldegrave to pay a fine of 200*l.* and Duff, 20*l.* and to be further imprisoned until such fines be paid.

PROVINCIAL.

The Manchester anti-corn-law league, immediately on receipt of Lord J. Russell's notice of motion on Friday evening, forwarded the following circular to all its branch associations:—"The council of the national anti-corn-law league seize the earliest moment for calling your attention to the announcement made by Lord John Russell yesterday, of his intention to move for a committee of the House, on the 31st instant, to consider the corn-laws. As the decision of the House upon the measure will depend mainly upon the force of public opinion which may be brought to bear upon the representatives of the people, the council most earnestly entreat you to lose no time in procuring petitions, holding meetings, and making every possible demonstration in favour of the immediate abolition of the corn and provision laws. It will be seen that Lord John Russell's notice of motion refers to the corn-laws exclusively, and the council recommend that the question be kept distinct from that of the import duties.

An anti-corn-law meeting was held at Westbury on Friday week, W. Matravers, Esq., in the chair, in whose factory the meeting took place, in consequence of the refusal of the Mayor to call the meeting, although desired to do so by a requisition of the inhabitants numerous and respectfully signed. Several resolutions were moved and seconded, and a petition prepared and adopted, which is now in course of signature.

ANTI-CORN-LAW PETITIONS.—The petition from Manchester for the total and immediate repeal of the corn-law has been signed by 61,639 persons. The Edinburgh petition has had 27,000 names, being 4,000 more than was obtained for last year's.

In consequence of the continued ill health of Colonel Davies, we understand that the honourable and gallant member will not again offer himself for the representation of this city.—*Worcester Journal.*

We hear that Dr. Graham, the vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, is likely to be the new bishop of Worcester.—*Morning Herald.*

The petition against the corn-laws, got up by the Working Men's Reform Association of Exeter, has received above 4500 signatures.

IRELAND.

A most important meeting of the friends of reform in the county of Limerick was held on Monday week, when a petition in support of the franchise and registration bill of Lord Morpeth was adopted. The high sheriff presided, and Lord Guillamore and the leading reformers of the county were in attendance. The resolutions denounce in suitable terms, the attempt of Lord Stanley and the Tories to disfranchise the Irish electors. A petition in favour of Lord Morpeth's bill was unanimously adopted.

The *Dublin Monitor* of Tuesday, says, "The accounts from all parts of Ireland as to the state of the registries are most deplorable. We do not wish to use discouraging language, but it is useless to conceal the fact that the liberals are beaten in some of their strongest holds, and the Tories have triumphed by vast majorities." Louth is all but lost; "of all the counties in Ireland it was considered the most secure." The *Monitor* says, that with few exceptions, the tenants of the numerous large whig proprietors of Louth are unregistered. The returns for King's County show a Tory majority of 215. "This," says the *Monitor*, "is the fruit of the repeal nonsense"—of neglecting the registries to speechify at meetings of the "Registry Association of Ireland."

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

FIRES IN LONDON.—A fire was discovered between two and three o'clock on Friday morning, to have broken out in the Carlton Club-house, Pall Mall. In a few minutes afterwards the engines belonging to the County Fire office, and the St. James's fire-escape, arrived on the spot, but the fire was extinguished without their assistance. Several of the window-shutters and frames were damaged, and the curtains destroyed.—On Wednesday morning, the shop of Mr. Bradding, an oilman, in the Kingsland-road, near Shoreditch-church, was discovered to be on fire. The stock was all consumed, together with a considerable quantity of the furniture of the upper floors.—On Friday night, a few minutes before nine o'clock, a fire broke out in the lower part of the St. George's Hotel, Albemarle-street. The inmates had barely time to escape from the premises ere the flames gained a great ascendancy, and, extending to the rear, caught to the house in Dover-street, which formed a part of the hotel. About ten o'clock the roofs of both houses fell in with a loud crash, and then, the flames having free vent, the sky was illumined for miles round. Happily the fire was confined to the hotel, and at eleven o'clock the flames were so far got under as to allay all fear of other houses being included in the conflagration. The hotel was furnished in the most costly style, and property to the amount of £10,000. has been destroyed. It is supposed that the fire originated in the kitchen, but in what way it has been impossible to ascertain. Mr. Stewart, the proprietor of the hotel, is insured.

REMARKABLE DEATH.—On Friday, so'night as Mr. Raggett, who has officiated for many years as sexton of St. Giles's parish, Reading, was standing on the verge of a newly-made grave, and while in the act of giving directions to the grave digger, he was suddenly seized with a fit—fell into the grave—and after faintly sighing twice, expired.

We regret to state that a report prevails of the loss of the Beagle surveying vessel, with all hands on board. By the latest accounts from Trincomalee, the report was current at that place.

Mr. Charles Lennon, a wealthy inhabitant of Belfast, and William Ferrall, a mason, were crushed to death near Ormeau, the seat of Lord Donegal, on Saturday, by the fall of a new gable wall.—*Limerick Chronicle*.

SUICIDE.—On Saturday, the 17th instant, an English gentleman put a period to his existence in his room in Leith's Caledonian hotel in the Orkneys. The deceased, who was about thirty years of age, of gentlemanly manners and appearance, arrived from Orkney by the steamer *Sovereign*. He was found extended on the floor, with his throat dreadfully cut, while a white handled razor rested to the depth of the handle in the wound. Both arms at the bends of the elbows, were also much cut, and lay stretched by his side. A note, on which the following words were written, was found on the dressing-table in the room; "Write my mother, Mrs. Sheppard, Sible, near Hilstead, Essex."

A man named Robert Smith died last week from injuries received whilst working on the South Eastern railway. He was engaged at the moment of the accident in fastening a hook to one of the waggons, when he slipped and the wheels went over him.

SUICIDE OF SIR RUFANE DONKIN, M. P.—The above gentleman terminated his existence at Southampton on Saturday last. He was on a tour on the coast for the benefit of his health, attended by a person in charge of him; and having availed himself of the temporary absence of his attendant, he succeeded in hanging himself.

EXTENSIVE CONFLAGRATION AT THE RAILWAY TERMINUS, BRISTOL.—On Wednesday night about eight o'clock a fire broke out at the Great Western Railway terminus. It commenced in the timber-yard of the company, containing 100,000 loads of timber at the least, in consequence of the tank being over heated. The various engines of the city were speedily on the spot, and a vast concourse of people, amounting during the night to 40,000 or 50,000 persons, assembled from all parts to view the tremendous conflagration. An area containing nearly two acres, filled with timber and other combustible materials, was on fire at the same time. All efforts to stem its progress were completely useless until the plan of cutting it off from the remaining timber in the yard was adopted; for which purpose several hundred men and four or five teams of horses were set at work, removing the adjacent timber to a distance, by which means at about half past 4 in the morning the fire was at length got under, and from 15,000% to 20,000% of timber belonging to the Great Western Railway Company, together with the terminus and neighbouring buildings, were saved. The property destroyed has been estimated at from 18,000% to 20,000%. The heat from the fire was so intense, that the neighbouring trees were set on fire, and two of them were burnt completely to the ground.

FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE GRAND SURREY CANAL.—Thursday afternoon a fatal accident occurred on the Grand Surrey Canal, near Peckham, to a young man named George Blay, 21 years of age, a brush-maker, residing in Bermondsey-street, Bermondsey. Tempted by the warmth of the afternoon, he proceeded with some companions to bathe in the canal. They had been in the water but a few minutes, when Blay suddenly sunk. Two of his friends being expert swimmers, dived repeatedly after him; but being unable to find him, the drags were procured, and after the lapse of half an hour, the body was recovered. It is supposed he was seized with cramp. Soon after the above occurrence, the body of a man was discovered floating on the canal within a short distance from the spot where it happened. On being taken out, it was found to be that of a gentleman about forty years of age. There was nothing found on his person to lead to his identity. The body appeared to have been in the water for several days, and the disturbing the water and mud when dragging for the body of Blay caused the other body to float.

A fatal accident occurred on the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway on Wednesday last, by which the company have been deprived of the services of one of the most active and attentive guards upon it. The name of the man is Dudley, formerly guard to one of the omnibuses. It seems that the poor fellow was coming up from Gloucester yesterday afternoon with the train which arrives at Spetchley a little before six, and, with the temerity which too frequently attaches to persons employed on railways, proceeded from the last carriage, to his proper seat on the outside, while the train was still in motion, before it arrived at the Eekington station. While thus employed, it is supposed he fell between the carriages, and, the train passing over his body, he was instantly killed.

The execution of Bartholomew Murray for the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, took place at Chester on Saturday week. The bearing of the man was firm and composed to the last. He was attended by a Roman catholic priest. The body was burned at night within the precincts of the castle without Christian burial. The concourse of spectators was immense.

Major-General Sir John Harvey has been appointed governor of Newfoundland.

SCOTCH DEGREES.—When the University of St. Andrew's sold her honors—a proceeding which provoked Dr. Johnson to tell the heads of the college that they would get rich by degrees, and which has now been long abandoned—a certain minister, who deemed that his ministrations would be more acceptable and more useful if he possessed what the Germans call the doctor-hat, put 15% in his purse, and went to St. Andrew's "to purchase for himself a good degree." His manservant accompanied him, and was present when his master was formally admitted to the long-desired honor. On his return, "the doctor" sent for his servant, and addressed him somewhat as follows: "Noo, Saunders, ye'll aye be sure to ca' me the doctor, and gin ony body spiers at ye aboot me ye'll be aye sure to say the doctor's in his study, or the doctor's engaged, or the doctor will see ye in a crack." "That a' depends," was the reply. "Jupon whether ye'll ca' me doctor too." (The reverend doctor stared.) "Aye, it's just so," continued the other; "for when I fand that it cost sae little, I'e'en got a diploma myself; sae ye'll just be good enough to say, doctor, put on some coats, or doctor, bring me the whiskey and hot water; and gin onybody spiers at ye aboot me, ye'll be aye sure to say the doctor's in the stable, or the doctor's in the pantry, or the doctor's digging potatoes, as the case may be."—*Church of England Review*.

LITERATURE.

1. *The Shield of Dissent; or Dissent in its Bearings on Legislation.* By EDWARD SWAINE. London: Snow.
2. *Church Rates, and the Duty of Dissenters; a Tract for the Times.* Third Edition. London: Dinis.
3. *Christianity against Coercion; or the Compulsory Churches Unscriptural and Anti-Christian.* By G. REDFORD, D.D., LL.D. London: Ward.
4. *An Appeal to Prince Albert on a great Constitutional Question.* By a Member of the Middle Temple. London: Ridgway, Dinis.
5. *Seventh Annual Report of the Edinburgh Association for Promoting Voluntary Church Principles.* Edinburgh: H. and J. Pillaus.
6. *A State Church inconsistent with the New Testament.* London: Dinis. Chard: H. S. Chaffey.
7. *The Principles of Nonconformity.* By J. P. MURSELL, of Leicester. London: T. Ward and Co.
8. *The Auto-Biography of an Obsolete Churchman.* By R. B. SANDERSON, Esq., Nephew and Secretary to the late Lord Chancellor Eldon. London: Ridgway, Dinis.

WE have classed these publications together, as having a direct bearing upon a subject of deep interest—the voluntary principle in religion. We do not pledge ourselves to all the sentiments contained in any one of them; nor are we now about to submit them one by one to a critical analysis. In these days of growing Puseyism, and somewhat lifeless dissenterism, we recommend all and any one of them as a preservative against contagion as to the former, as safe and suitable tonic medicine in the latter case.

As Tracts for indiscriminate and wide circulation, the publications numbered 2 and 6 in the above list, excel anything on this subject which, to our knowledge, has appeared. They are all pith. They comprise in few words the substance of volumes. The rudiments of all that can be advanced in the shape of argument upon the subjects of which they respectively treat, will be found in these unpretending Tracts.

In the productions of the Rev. J. P. Mursell and Dr. Redford, named above, the subject is placed in its religious light—the principle advocated on religious grounds. Sound logic combined with powerful eloquence will be found to pervade both—not indeed in like proportions of combination; but where the latter quality is predominant there is no lack of the former—where the former is chiefly characteristic of the work it is not unaccompanied by the latter. They may be read together with great interest.

Mr. Sanderson's auto-biography of an obsolete churchman gives a lively practical exemplification of the principles advocated or denounced in the foregoing works. Addressing the Archbishop of Canterbury, he gives us a peep into the interior of a state-church in the following passage:—

"From Oxford, my Lord, I proceeded to London, (forgive me this boasting, ye yourselves have constrained me,) where I became Secretary of Presentations to my uncle, the late Earl of Eldon, and where I had an opportunity of cultivating a more intimate acquaintance with the clergy than I had even at Oxford, and of ascertaining more precisely the grounds on which the more secular clergy (for I knew few such before) expect preferment from the state. One, my Lord, had raised, or assisted in raising, a troop of yeomanry in the iron-age of William Pitt; another had voted for Lord Eldon at Oxford, and if I mistake not, your Grace was "one of those persons who prayed for him on that solemn occasion." I trust you had no cause to complain of your want of due compensation. A third, my Lord, had the audacity,—yes, I say the audacity,—to offer Lord Eldon himself a full ten per cent. on the produce of any living to which he might be pleased to prefer him. I well remember, my Lord, the indignant scorn with which that high-minded nobleman, and my much respected relative, showed me this letter. I respected him, yea, I loved him, my Lord, in spite of his bigotry; and when I left him, which I did solely for conscience' sake, and because I could not continue a party any longer to such infamous traffic in souls, it was to me like cutting off a right hand, and if I am rightly informed, it was not much otherwise to him. I loved him as a father, and he regarded me at that time, as a son."

Our main purpose in the present article is, we confess, to take up, with a brevity becoming our space rather than the importance of the questions themselves, two points which must, ere long, furnish matter for grave discussion among dissenters—the passive resistance and the non-appearance questions—in other words, we propose to inquire whether conscientious dissenters can, consistently with their principles, pay church-rates and recognise Bishop's courts. The question is immediately suggested to us by the work of Mr. Swaine, to whom, before we pass on, however we differ from him, we must do the justice to remark that he has written a work which exhibits both his logical powers and his Christian temper, and withal, his stern disapproval of state churches, in a very commendable light.

We shall take the last-mentioned subject first, simply because it has recently been thrust upon our notice by Mr. Baines's imprisonment, and by the pamphlet of "A Balance, Esq." and the letters of Mr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, on the propriety of his proceedings.

The last letter of the Reverend gentleman of the north, but who, if report be correct, will soon be added to the list of dissenting ministers in this metropolis, contains a severe stricture on a previous one of Mr. Legge at Leicester. We are no advocates for harsh constructions of motives, or for bitterness of language; but we think, before Mr. A. condemned his fellow-countryman at Leicester, he should have reflected that his own letter, which drew forth Mr. L.'s reply, was not the most courteous in the world.

If his ridicule of Mr. Baines was met by a taunt—if his *ex cathedra* address to his brethren at Leicester was pushed aside by sarcasm—he is not the man entitled to complain. A very marked

difference of tone characterises his second effort from that which marked his first—and we by no means see why they who heedlessly wound the feelings of a prisoner, should be the only persons exempt from severity of retort. Christian temper, as far as we have been able to observe, is not exclusively on the side of those who condemn Mr. Baines.

But we digress. The question for discussion is whether dissenters may in consistency with their principles recognise the authority of Bishop's Courts. Both Mr. Alexander and A. Balance Esq., refer to the recognition of these Courts by dissenters in the case of wills—and urge that were the principle carried out, we should be driven to inconveniences the most absurd. Now we most emphatically protest against this mode of conducting the argument. It blinks completely the rightness or wrongness of the principle. It would settle it by a *balance* sheet of profit and loss—by a calculation of the amount of annoyance to be experienced in giving effect to the principle. Had our forefathers acted upon this plan, few of the rights we enjoy would have descended to us.

But we beg to urge that obeying the citation of a Bishop's Court, and voluntarily going thither to obtain a civil advantage are not analogous cases. We submit that they are spiritual Courts, created for spiritual purposes, only incidentally and as it were by accident, appointed by the state to manage one department of civil affairs—whilst the magistracy must be regarded as an authority created by the state *purely* for civil purposes, and only incidentally employed in ecclesiastical matters. Looking to the constitution of the different tribunals, we see no great discrepancy in an individual, availing himself simply of what is adventitious in both. In proving a will, he does not recognise any ecclesiastical authority, as such—in obeying a summons of the magistrates in a church-rate case, he merely bows to a civil power, considered as such—but when in a church-rate case, he is *commanded* by the Archbishop or his commissary to appear on a matter of which, in his spiritual capacity, he is empowered to take cognisance—the command being given *in virtue of spiritual jurisdiction*, and *touching a matter of religion*, it becomes a fair question, whether as a Christian, a man is not bound to disobey the command.

Mr. Alexander gives up the whole question, when, in answer to a case put to him by a correspondent, he declares he would not recognise either by payment or by appearance upon citation, the authority of an *usurper*. It was supposed that that usurper was in the possession of Edinburgh and the neighbouring country. *De facto* he was sovereign. *De facto* there is Episcopal ecclesiastical authority—but *de jure* it is usurped—it belongs exclusively to Christ who has a better and stronger title to the allegiance of his disciples, than Queen Victoria has to that of her subjects. This Episcopal authority, whether the state recognise or disown it, is null and void—a prior relation renders all relation to it that would require obedience, not only a nonentity, but a rebellious attitude against the head of the church. If a bishop, as a prince in the church, *ought* to be obeyed, what becomes of the divine injunction, "call no man master on earth." We recommend Mr. Alexander to read a citation. If he is not shocked at the impious assumption it contains, he is not the man we gladly take him for.

The other question of interest we take the present opportunity of touching upon, is the duty of dissenters to pay or resist church-rates. We have read the elaborate argument of Mr. Swaine, and must profess ourselves unsatisfied as regards its soundness. We assume that the proper business of governments is protection—that liberty is, rightly understood, security from wrong done to us by our fellow-men. We take it for granted that the sphere of governments is actions, not hearts—that especially religion lies beyond its province of authority. We assert that when governments exercise authority beyond their legitimate sphere, they have no claim upon the obedience of their subjects—that when they intrude upon the sphere of Him, to whom we are bound in duty first and above all, in his name, we are not only entitled but enjoined to resist; and finally, when the assumption of governments goes to the length, not simply of commanding what it is the exclusive right of God to command, but of setting aside an ordinance of His that they may substitute an ordinance of their own, on the impious plea, too, that His ordinance is insufficient, nay, ridiculous; then, every man who believes the voluntary principle to be of God, and the voluntary support of religious worship and ministration settled by "*it is written*," is guilty of treachery, treason to the Supreme Head of the Church, in not keenly resenting the imputation cast upon divine wisdom, and not unblenchingly resisting an usurpation so impious in principle, so deadly in operation. We shall be glad to be convinced, if we are wrong. But no arbitrary definitions of what constitutes government will convince us—no corollaries drawn from such definitions. We say, imposition of church-rates, sets aside an ordinance of Christ—not only makes it of no force, but laughs at it as impotent and ridiculous; and to our mind those who pay the demand, in effect, help to displace the authority of the Master, and join in the sneer at the want of wisdom this arrangement displays.

*** We had intended inserting in this number a review of Ward's "Library of Standard Divinity, No. 28, Bush's Notes on the Book of Genesis," but are compelled to defer this and other notices by the pressure of important political and religious matter.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *A Practical Commentary; or an Exposition, with Notes, on the Epistle of James.* By the Rev. THOMAS MANTON, D.D. London: R. Gladding, Whitechapel Road; and Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row. 1840.

2. *Ward's Library of Standard Divinity; without abridgment. Doctrinal Discourses.* By JOHN BUNYAN. London: Ward and Co.
3. *The Right of a Clergyman to oppose the Errors of his own Church.* By HENRY ERSKINE HEAD, M.A. London: Palmer and Son, Paternoster Row. 1841.
4. *Brief Recollections of Ebenezer Wardlaw, born at Glasgow 14th of March, 1826; died 23d of February, 1836, aged 10 years.* Glasgow: James Maclehose and Robert Nelson, 83, Buchanan-street. Sold by Hamilton and Co., London.
5. *Regulus, the noblest Roman of them all. A Tragedy in five acts.* By JACOB JONES, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: John Miller, 13, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden. 1841.
6. *Official Assignees. Reform in Bankruptcy. Remarks and Suggestions by an Accountant.* London: Pelham Richardson, 23, Cornhill.
7. *An Appeal to the British Nation, as to a Petition for Presentation to Parliament for the Repeal of the Poor-law Amendment Act, &c.* By CHARLES BROOKER, Alfriston, Sussex. Brighton: Andrews. London: Berger, Holywell-street, Strand.
8. *A Voice from the Spirit of the People, being a short Treatise on the Evils which Oppress Society, and the Remedy.* London: Clements, Little Pulteney-street.
9. *The Scottish Congregational Magazine.* May, 1841. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Robert Nelson, 83, Buchanan-street.
10. *Baptism: the import of 'baptizo.'* By the Rev. ED. BEECHER, President of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois. London: John Gladding, 20, City-road.
11. *The present Position and urgent Claims of the London Missionary Society.* A Discourse delivered in Ward Chapel, Dundee, on Lord's Day, 14th February, 1841. By DAVID RUSSELL, D.D. Glasgow: Maclehose and Nelson. London: Hamilton and Co.

The residence of Mr. T. Mew, Chale, Isle of Wight, was burnt to the ground on Thursday se'nnight, and a great part of the household goods and furniture destroyed, the latter part of which, however, was insured.

Information has been received at Lloyds of the loss of the ship *Recovery*, bound for Quebec, with 260 emigrants on board. The passengers were all saved, but the greater part of the luggage and other property is lost.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The anniversary of the Suffolk Society in aid of Missions was held at Debenham, on Thursday last, April 29th, and there was a very goodly attendance, not only of official persons, ministers of the county, and the deputation from London, but also of respectable yeomen, who always exercise much influence in every matter which they take up. After Mr. Moffat had addressed the congregation, as perhaps no man living but himself could have done, the company, gentlemen and ladies, and young persons, adjourned to a cold collation, spread very commodiously in a tent not far from the place of assembly, and here a circumstance occurred somewhat novel, but just at present of pre-eminent consequence. Dinner being concluded, the time of the company very short, and all ready to move, the highly respected minister of Sudbury, Mr. Wallis, solicited a few minutes' attention; and how shall the result be told—every one turned to him with a seeming of cheerful courtesy, as if some usual sentiment were about to be enunciated of loyalty or liberality, when his remarks took a course of deeper moment—he turned to the all-important point of cheap Bibles, and it was a goodly sight to witness the change which passed upon the meeting, when his object came out to every one's view. Strong practical men clustered up with indications of intense concern, and that emotion may have been the most valuable called into exercise that day. Mr. Wallis took occasion, from Mr. Childs' presence, to bring the Bible monopoly before the company. Mr. Childs, of course, acknowledged the attention, thus deservedly, but unexpectedly rendered him, and Mr. Hill, a missionary, took a part in the proceedings, of which we trust more will be seen and heard. He proposed that each minister present should engage to raise one pound from his friends to constitute a fund of not less than 500*l.*, to be held in reserve should the patentee of Bible printing commence legal proceedings against Mr. Childs, who, if such a fund were provided, was ready to print Bibles under his and his son's impress. This is the best thing proposed for a long time, and more valuable, because introduced by a missionary, who, as missionaries know and feel the awful calamities which result from the Bible monopoly. These are the men whose souls must often be vexed, and whose labours must sometimes be crippled by means of that iniquity. It was particularly pleasant and encouraging to see, that without an exception, missionaries, ministers, and laymen, male and female, young and old, appeared to feel then, and to have apprehended before, that the price at which Bibles are offered, or may be offered by the monopolist, is little, and was likely to become less, in their estimation. That the principle, the sinful and ruinous principle of giving any person a prescriptive interest, a title and opportunity of gain in circulating the word of God was the main hindrance, the great stone of stumbling; and the company present, scarcely less than 200, each able to discern between his right hand and his left, were evidently impressed with the conviction, that it was a duty now owing by the public to God and to mankind to set the word of God as free as the sun in its pathway, and the winds in their varied courses. A considerable sum was subscribed then and there for the specified purpose, and it is to be hoped, who does not believe that every congregation of every religious community, saving perhaps one corporate community, will gladly unite in this work. May God prosper it, and it shall prevail.

BRIGHTON.—On Thursday last the London-road chapel was reopened, after having undergone repair. The Rev. W. Bean and the Rev. N. M. Harry, of London, delivered appropriate and excellent sermons on the occasion; and the Rev. G. B. Hunter, late of Axminster, Devon, having accepted an invitation to become minister of this chapel, resumed his pulpit engagements on Sunday last, amidst a considerably enlarged attendance.

On Monday evening week a missionary meeting was held in the General Baptist chapel, Retford, Thomas Bigsby, Esq., in the chair. The chapel was crowded to excess, and the audience were most effectively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Fogg, Johnson, Stocks, Smithson, Furneyhough, and Grant. The Rev. R. Stocks delivered two impressive introductory discourses on the preceding day.

BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting was held at Exeter Hall, on Monday evening, 26th of April. J. Aked, Esq., in the chair. After singing and prayer, with which the meeting was opened,

The CHAIRMAN rose and spoke to this effect. He expressed a hope that the meeting might be attended with the most beneficial effects, and that the efficiency of the Society would be greatly promoted by it. He referred particularly to some delightful scenes which it had been his privilege to witness in connection with this institution at Shipley. From the church at that place, the churches of Maze Pond and Nottingham had both received their ministers, and it was now occupied by the Rev. P. Scott, who had long been engaged in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ. Mr. Roe had visited Shipley. They appointed a meeting, and at that meeting the deepest interest was excited. Others were held in succession, and at each successive meeting the interest appeared to increase. The anxious feelings which there prevailed bespoke "that God himself was near." The undecided for Christ were found coming and declaring themselves to be on the Lord's side—aged sinners were seen submitting themselves to the Redeemer's kingdom, and receiving it as little children—and children of eight or nine years of age and upwards came forth to learn of Jesus and sit at his feet. The result was that 44 had been added to the church, and numbers more were prepared to follow them. Among the 44 was one young woman, who had since been removed into eternity. Her death was as mysterious as her conversion had been remarkable. She had been the subject of serious impressions some years before, and during affliction she had promised that if the Lord would spare her life and raise her up again she would give herself to him. The Lord granted her petitions, but she forgot her vow. One evening she was lingering about the outside of the chapel, but did not enter. Mr. Scott was describing the state of those who had but one talent, and urged that if that were neglected God would take it away, and there would remain nothing but a fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation. She heard this outside the building, and went home to spend a restless night. For days she scarcely ate or drank. He saw her while in that state, and conversed with her. Shortly afterwards the Lord gave her peace and joy in believing, and she, with 20 others, was united to the Christian church. She sat down at the Lord's table and enjoyed, as she said, one of the happiest days she had ever spent in her life. The Sabbath closed, and during the following day, instead of attending her ordinary duties, she could not forbear going round to her neighbours and friends, telling them what a delightful day she had experienced, and requesting them to attend a meeting in the evening that they might receive good to their souls. But, alas! how uncertain is human life: that meeting she never attended. A few hours previously to its being held she sat near the fire, and, by some means, her clothes ignited. She ran out of doors, the wind caught the flames, and in a moment or two she was completely enveloped in them. No one dared approach her for a considerable time, and before they could be extinguished she was almost burned to death. Mr. Scott visited her; every limb trembled, but she exclaimed, "Thank God, these are not the flames of hell!" He observed to her that it was very likely she would never enjoy another Sabbath on earth, and reminded her of the privileges of the Sabbath which had just passed; she replied, "Yes,

How sweet a Sabbath thus to spend
In hope of one that ne'er will end."

In a few days her spirit departed to the mansions of bliss above. We thought it a mysterious providence, but circumstances have since shown that the Lord doth all things well. The village of Shipley, however, was not satisfied to enjoy those blessings alone. A neighbouring town at which the gospel had long been faithfully preached, but with little success, attracted their attention. A day was appointed for holding similar meetings in that place. Several young men from Morton College preceded them, and in three separate parts of the town unfurled the banner of the cross. It was delightful to see these young men bringing the people to the sanctuary of God. An account of the death of the young woman, to whose case he had just referred, was made the means of the conversion of sinners that night. A young man from that college, while going round and asking the inquirers respecting their conversion, questioned two young women as to the motive which led them there. The answer was most pathetic: "Sir, we are come to be directed as to where we can find Jesus." In another case a woman and her daughter resided together, and the mother found great difficulty in persuading her to attend the house of God. The daughter heard this young man preach in the streets; the word reached her heart, she went home and told her mother that she had heard such preaching as she had never listened to before, and expressed her determination to go to the Baptist chapel. The mother was highly pleased, and they are now both inquirers on the road to Zion. These were encouraging facts; and if the church of Christ be alive to its duty, it will soon see things assuming a different aspect. "The wilderness and the solitary place will be glad, and the desert will rejoice and blossom as the rose." May the Lord hasten it in his own time!

The Rev. S. J. DAVIES read an abstract of the report, and the Rev. C. H. ROE read the Treasurer's accounts:—Total receipts during the past year, £4172 17s. 2d.; total expenditure, £4129 5s. 9d.; balance in Treasurer's hands, £42 11s. 5d.; the Society, however, being under engagements to the extent of £500.

The Rev. T. S. CRAIG, of Bristol, moved, "That this meeting acknowledges with devout and fervent gratitude, the cheering tokens of the Divine approbation which have attended the labours of the agents of this Society during the past year; that it regards the evangelist system with increased interest and satisfaction; and that the report on which these sentiments are founded be adopted, and circulated under the direction of the committee." The resolution referred to success, and made that success matter of gratitude and praise. He hoped that the report, and the account of that night's proceedings, would meet the eye of the Society's zealous and devoted labourers. There were amongst them those who needed sympathy, and who would be glad to know that they enjoyed the goodwill and prayers of their friends and supporters. He doubted not that there were amongst them men with

heavy hearts and depressed feelings, but he trusted that from the proceedings of this meeting they would derive encouragement to persevere. The success attending the labours of the Society had been great, and they owed much to God for that blessing which had rendered its instrumentality so effectual. The field was large, and the cultivation of some of its parts must have demanded very severe exertions. Nothing could have sustained many of the agents but the strongest principle and the most steady faith. The labourer in Gloucestershire was devoting himself to his duties with the greatest sedulousness and activity. That station had been almost totally extinguished, but it was now in a state of great prosperity. Without the aid of this Society it would have continued in its desolate condition. The report had particularly referred to the labours of the evangelists. He imagined that the term was intended to designate those whose labours were neither pastoral nor local, but rather itinerating, migrating, and consisted mainly in visiting important stations for the purpose of diffusing the light of life more widely, and exciting a greater amount of feeling than could be expected to result from the labours of fixed pastors. Dr. Owen says, "To preach the word continually, and that with peculiar labour and travail, and to move up and down according as the necessity and edification of the churches doth require, doing nothing in them but according to the rule and appointment of Christ, are things which not many will earnestly covet to be engaged in." That the labours of such men had been blessed, was matter for most abundant praise, and the strongest satisfaction. (Hear, hear.) It was an interesting circumstance, that the first motion which came before them during the present anniversaries was one of unmixed gratitude and gratulation. (Hear, hear.) Let them, as the result of all that which had been done, thank God and take courage. The enemy of souls had appeared long to keep quiet possession of a great portion of this country; but now, by the force of Divine truth and the arm of the Spirit of the Lord, he was being cast forth. By faithful, vigilant, and persevering effort in the name and strength of the Lord, they might rest assured that another year would present the same gratifying amount of labour and success as the report had furnished on the present occasion. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. H. HINTON, in seconding the resolution, said, that it ought to be a matter of happiness to him to offer a contribution, however humble, towards advancing the interests of this great and important Society, the anniversary of which so appropriately opened the business of the week. The Home Missionary Society did not awaken doubtful controversy. The idea of carrying the gospel of Christ to those who had it not, seeking to win souls to him, and to enlarge the borders of his kingdom, must be right in all denominations—pure, unmingled right—so long as the object was pursued and carried on in the spirit of the gospel. The Home Missionary Society carried with it the idea, that their native land presented the aspect of a missionary field. He was not for under-rating or depreciating the amount of true religion to be found in it; but yet no careful observer of it could hold the opinion that anything like the whole of the population was pious. In London there were many pious persons, many ministers of the gospel, many places of worship where the truth was preached; but what, after all, were the real facts of the case? The multitudes that were crowded together in the dense parts of this city, seem to bid defiance to every effort to penetrate them with the voice of Christian instruction. They lay in huge, unbroken masses, sleeping the sleep of everlasting death. London itself was to this hour a missionary field, and multitudes, both here and throughout the country, were growing up in total ignorance of the first elements of Christianity, or in a total indifference to its claims. A name, a profession, or even obedience, to the external services of Christianity, did not improve it. It was as bad to go to hell through the green fields of England, as over the arid sands of Bengal; to live and die in sin amid churches, chapels, tracts, bibles, ministers, as amid brahmins and seagours. The moral character was the same, the issue was the same, save and except that in proportion to the privileges here enjoyed was the enormity of the guilt, and the aggravation of the ruin. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the Baptist Home Missionary Society, it was presented under existing circumstances in a very favourable and pleasing aspect. God had deigned to make its labours successful, and to pour out his blessing upon it. But if he were to say, that because the Society was successful, they must support it, he should cast upon years that were past a severe and, he trusted in some respects, an unmerited reproach. The deserts of the Society would be as great if it had not been successful. It would have aimed at the same end, have been actuated by the same spirit, and have made the same appeal to every Christian heart. If they felt that they ought to contribute to it more liberally, simply because it had been successful, there must be something wrong. They did not altogether forsake it when it was not so successful, and the history of past years would show that it had always had a place in the hearts of the pious. They must, however, on account of the augmentation of its labours, give it increased contributions to sustain them. They ought not to have stinted it when in distress, still less must they do it now when through God's mercy it was prosperous. Let them fetter not the links of its gigantic power. Let it not be short of breath to blow the trumpet which those ready to perish were hearing, and who were coming to sit amid the saints of earth, and to enjoy a foretaste of the happiness of heaven. (Cheers.) There was much encouragement resulting from the fact that God had raised up men for the accomplishment of its work. He could not pass over that topic without acknowledging God's goodness in raising up one man, whose feelings he would not lacerate by more specifically referring to him, but who had been favoured of God to combine with all the glowing ardour of the Irish heart more than all the judgment, tact, and sagacity usually associated with the Irish head. (Cheers.) There had been two modifications of the labours of the Society, in which he thought there was great reason to rejoice. Years ago, it was a sort of village-itinerating society, which studiously turned away its eyes from all existing churches, and from towns, however destitute. Villages were important, and it was not with a view to depreciate village efforts that he uttered those thoughts. But of late years the Society had turned its attention to towns in which there were churches of the Baptist denomination feeble and ready to die. One of

its objects had been to revive those drooping churches, to bring them into an energetic condition, and to establish new churches not so much in villages as in considerable towns. He thought that therein it had done well, not because the soul of the rustic was less precious than that of the artisan, but because when they succeeded in establishing an interest in a town, they established a centre for exertions all around, to a far greater extent than by creating a new interest in a village. (Cheers.) A farmer having a great many acres of uncultivated ground, by manuring some of its worst parts, might procure a tolerable crop; but if, instead of adopting that plan, he first turned his attention to its best parts, which by a little labour and a small amount of expenditure would yield a noble crop, and left the worst parts till the last, who could blame him? The production of the greatest results at the least outlay, either of labour or of money, was an ordinary dictate of wisdom; and it was only because the children of this world were wiser in their day and generation than the children of light, that the Baptist Home Missionary Society had not found it out before. (Cheers.) There was another point in which the Society's operations were modified. It had engaged men who for years past had been successful pastors to leave that close relationship, in order to visit the churches, to spend a few weeks among them, and endeavour to kindle a new spirit, and by determined, vigorous, rousing appeals to saint and sinner, to originate an altogether new state of things. It had been accompanied by success worthy of the principle. The effort was wisely commenced, and God had smiled upon its execution.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. T. MORGAN, of Birmingham, moved—"That while this meeting desires to be grateful to God for what has already been accomplished through the instrumentality of this and kindred institutions, it deeply deplores the immense amount of ignorance and irreligion which still obtains in our country; and pledges itself to renewed and more vigorous effort in spreading the Gospel of Christ through the length and breadth of the land,"—and

The Rev. J. SPRIGG, of Ipswich, in seconding the resolution, said that they were called upon seriously to think—and deeply to be affected by the thought—of the religious destitution of many parts of this kingdom. In Ipswich there was sitting room in the different places of worship for nearly the whole of the population, and yet there were thousands that never attended on the public means of grace, and were living in the most awful ignorance of the first great truths of Christianity. In the county there were 44 or 45 baptist churches, other denominations had proportionate numbers; it therefore could not be considered destitute. A short time ago their independent friends determined to employ a number of Evangelists; and at a meeting of the Baptist Association, it was resolved to employ a missionary this year, and endeavour to add another at the next anniversary. The resolution, whilst it recognised their gratitude for what had already been accomplished, called upon them as a test of their sincerity, to pledge themselves to new and increased exertion; let the members of churches individually consider what could be done to carry out the pledge so that the resolution might not become a dead letter. There was one obvious manner in which it could be effected, viz., by their contributions that evening, and by enlarged subscriptions during the ensuing year.

The Rev. C. STOVEL rose to support the resolution. He said there were several features which served to place in a strong point of view the necessity of the labours of this Society. He begged permission to refer to one. During the whole period of his life the Tract Society had been labouring in cheapening religious publication, and they were now issuing from their repository, not in hundreds and thousands, but in millions, portions of the word of God. The Bible Society also had been multiplying copies of the Holy Scriptures. But just in the same proportion as they had been cheapening productions which might lead to the culture of piety, the press had by others been employed in the production of works which must degrade and demoralize every class of the human race by whom they were read. The great adversary had laid hold of the apparatus, and had made it the means of saturating society with the polluting spawn of his corruption. If that were confined to the ruder masses of society, where the vulgarity would tend to correct the evil, the matter would not be quite so hopeless; but theatres and places of amusement were thus pleaded for and thus sustained. The great monster of darkness seemed to be brooding over the population, and, like the angel which once hung over the devoted city having the instruments of vengeance, was acting with a moral pestilential power, and devouring, not the bodies, but the souls of men. (Hear, hear.) There was one point on which they ought to be most solemnly awakened. He alluded to the general diffusion, in a cheap form, of that sort of Protestant Popery contained in the Oxford Tracts. (Cheers.) There was a near approach, to all appearance, of Christian feeling, with the most skilful adoption and adaptation of scriptural language, and a constant and careful watchfulness for the deepest and most subtle syllogisms, that the acuteness of logical culture could supply. It appeared as though the writers wished to rivet over the spirits, and hands, and feet, and senses of men, the dark and icy fetters of ancient popery. They seemed to cherish that inward spirit which would light again the fires of martyrdom. They would take away all liberty of thought and feeling, and bring men back to the dark ages, to live on the verge of perdition. They adapted their productions to the higher walks of society; they sent them abroad as gifts, or sold them at the cheapest rate, and descended to the meanest artifices in order that they might corrupt the greatest of all corruption—the great mass of the public mind. (Hear, hear.) Ought Christians to leave the name of Christ to be dishonoured by such dreadful blasphemies? It must not be, and this society would say that it should not be. (Cheers.) There was another point which required to be carefully considered. He was afraid that the controversies which prevailed nearly a century ago on points of doctrine, had left upon the heart and mind of the great body of the church a kind of moral lassitude, which prevented them from being as diligent as they ought, in seeking out the great errors which prevailed among mankind. They had been crying out for charity; they had been making compromises; they had been seeking for union, and had been longing for quietude. Let them have charity; but

charity breathed the air of her refined and holy love, only by the guidance and instigation of truth. She knew nothing of the compromise or neglect of principle. That union which Christ intended to form in his church, was not that which was effected by binding men together by iron chains; but that which united their hearts with inward feelings, and heaven-born sympathies. (Cheers.) They were advised not to be too bold, nor go too far; not to strike the adversary, or he would kick. Did they think that he would die without kicking. (Immense and reiterated cheers.) Let them be assured that the Saviour did not conquer without striking the adversary on his head and in his heart; neither would they conquer without striking him in the same places. It would be necessary for them to strike home; let them do it in the spirit of Christianity, and in the strength of God, and then God would be with them, and success would be the reward of their exertions. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. BURTON, of Amersham, moved—"That W. T. Beeby, Esq., be requested to continue his office as treasurer; that the Rev. C. H. Roe be the secretary; and the Rev. S. J. Davis the correspondence secretary; and that the following gentlemen (names read) do constitute the committee for the year ensuing."

The Rev. W. BROCK, of Norwich, seconded the resolution. Mr. Stovel (he said) had alluded to the aspect of the times. It was impossible to aggravate the mischief likely to result from the "Tracts for the Times." He was glad that the subject had been referred to—it was best to speak out on these occasions, where men of high reputation, and in one sense men of eminent piety, preached another gospel which was not another. But there was something worse even than that—namely, the practical mischief which was day by day produced. There was, in every parish in this kingdom, taught and inculcated by men whom the people were led to regard with reverence, the soul-destroying doctrine of baptismal regeneration. (Hear, hear.) He could grapple with infidelity—there was something about it by which they could secure its condemnation by the greater part of their fellow-citizens; there was something connected with Puseyism which could be exhibited to general view—when men told him that they hated the Reformers, he had only to state that fact to an English audience, in order to secure the condemnation of such a sentiment; but when quietly and insidiously in every parish in the kingdom baptismal regeneration was taught in so many words, and was then assumed in all the relations of life, and in all the subsequent services of the church, he beheld an evil worse than either infidelity or Puseyism. How good men could reconcile it with their consciences to proclaim such a doctrine, it was not for him to decide; it was, however, the duty of his friends to set their face like a flint against it. (Cheers.) Here came the great and master reason for the countenance and extension of the Society. Without being sectarian—a word which needed explanation—he held the means employed by this denomination to be the means upon which God's blessing might be asked, and on which that blessing might be expected to descend. (Hear, hear.) He had the greatest aversion even to the remotest approach to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, by whomsoever it was taught, and however it might be modified or softened down. (Cheers.) It was his firm and growing conviction, that wherever infant baptism was practised, they had the germ of the mischief—enough of the mischief for the depravity of the human heart to work upon. (Cheers.) And further, without being sectarian, in the efforts of this Society, which had nothing to do with the practice but to frown upon it—but to preach against it—he saw, without casting a reflection upon any other Christian body, just that kind of action which he believed God would bless. If such sentiments were regarded as sectarian, he could not help it. It was the truth, and there was no use in concealing it. That union that was based on concealment was based on a volcano. (Cheers.) He wished that they could, by some act of the Home Missionary Society, banish such phraseology as this—"A Christian country, a Christian government, a Christian people." (Hear, hear.) A vast amount of practical mischief resulted from the employment of such language. A man born in this country, and who had not experienced a change of heart, was, in the sight of God, as bad as a Pagan. There was no such thing as an intermediate space between the church and the world; there was no outward pale into which by baptism they were introduced; there was no such thing as neutral ground; and that was the truth which this Society intended everywhere to proclaim. (Cheers.) He was glad that it had done so in towns as well as in villages; and he rejoiced to find that it was going forward with the inscription upon its banners, "Be thou faithful unto death." (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to; and, after the Doxology had been sung, the meeting separated.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

A very numerous meeting of the subscribers and friends to this Society, assembled at Exeter Hall, on Thursday, the 29th ult., to celebrate its 49th anniversary. W. B. Gurney, Esq., having taken the chair,

The proceedings were opened by singing and prayer.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said, he trusted that they all felt it to be a privilege to be engaged in any measure, however humble, in the promotion of the cause which had assembled them that day. The Society, whose anniversary they were now attending, was commenced before the larger number present were born. It was commenced in faith, and on small resources; but God had prospered it. Funds had been obtained, missionaries had been sent forth, the scriptures were translated into many tongues, the superstitions of Eastern Asia were loosened, and many were called from darkness to God's marvellous light. (Cheers.) The report to be presented to the meeting would show that the work of the Lord was still going on in that part; and that many had been converted to God. Superstition was yielding, and there was a general expectation that a new state of things was about to arise, and a new religion to be introduced. The report would also direct their attention to another field in which the Society had been carrying on its operations. After the first formation of this Society,

circumstances led to the establishment of a mission in Jamaica, and in the course of the past year that mission had been blessed beyond any former period. Numbers had been added to the churches; and the interest with which they cherished the welfare, spiritual and temporal, of their father-land, was very remarkable. He trusted that their attention would be much directed this day to the interest which those poor members of their churches had taken, and to the sacrifices which that interest had induced them to make, in order that the gospel might be sent to Africa. They would also hear of the arrival of their missionaries on the coast of Africa, and the commencement of their labours there. He hoped that their hearts would be deeply interested in that great field of missionary enterprise; and while their sable friends in Jamaica were praying for the success of that effort, that their brethren in this country would unite with them in pecuniary exertions, that additional missionaries might be sent out, to bring those who now sat in darkness to the light of life. (Cheers.) They were standing upon holy ground—they were engaged in a sacred cause—and he hoped that the proceedings of the day would not only be a source of entertainment, but of improvement to their hearts; that they might be made more useful than ever, under the Divine blessing, in the promotion of the Redeemer's cause. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. DYER then read the report, which stated, that on the continent of India the Society had been exercised with a succession of bereavements and afflictions such as had never before been experienced in a single year. Some of the missionaries had died, and others had been obliged to return home to recruit their health. Editions of the Scriptures, however, in whole or in part, had been translated, and the issues from the depository during eight months had been 28,777. Several members had been added to various churches. The mission in Ceylon was very prosperous. With reference to the West Indies it stated, that from the returns handed in to the Association held at Falmouth in February last, it appeared that the number of members in full communion was now 27,706—nearly 3000 more than last year; of inquirers the number was stated to be 18,984; marriages celebrated, 1256. It then detailed the progress made at the various stations; and after referring to the formation of a mission to Western Africa, concluded by adverting to the home proceedings. During the past year 17 missionaries had been sent out. The total receipts of the year amounted to £26,656 17s. 2d., being an excess of £7332 5s. 4d. above the income of the preceding. The expenses had increased in an equal proportion, and the balance now due to the treasurer was £1958 13s. 4d.

W. B. GURNEY, Esq., then read an abstract of the items of his accounts as treasurer, in doing which he took an opportunity of observing, that £825 towards translations had been received from the American Bible Society, and £500 from the Bible Translation Society. Both these sums appeared in the cash accounts; but £1000 had since been received from the latter source (cheers), and transmitted to India, which did not appear in the accounts, they having been previously made up. They lamented the difference of opinion between themselves and the British and Foreign Bible Society, and which had rendered the institution of the Bible Translation Society requisite. It had, however, been so framed, as only to supply the deficiency which had been created by the course taken by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was not intended as an opposition to it. They rejoiced in all the good it was effecting, and desired to bear their part in sustaining its operations. They should hail with satisfaction an alteration in the sentiments of the committee, and be happy again to receive assistance from it. (Cheers.) But in the meantime they had been content to raise the necessary supplies by means of the Bible Translation Society, and which had been found adequate to the circulation of so large a number of the word of God. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. S. CRISP, of Bristol, rose to move the first resolution,

"That the report be received and printed, and that while this meeting bows with submission to the providential dispensations of God, it records its gratitude for the continued blessings of his grace, and finds, in past bereavements, a fresh occasion for confidence in Him in whom alone is 'everlasting strength.'"

There was, he said, in that resolution a character which almost unavoidably attached to every thing human—a mixture of light and shade. It contained a loud call upon them for fervent gratitude and for patient submission. They ought not to be surprised at that; for the institutions of man must partake of man's frailty; and societies, however formed, contained in them no security, either against the inroads of death, or the changes which sickness united with death occasioned. There were sad changes when, as in the present instance, the young at the commencement of their labours, and the long-trying servants of God, who had borne the heat of the day, were both cut off. The report set forth, at its very commencement, the mournful intelligence that a greater number of afflictions and trials had been experienced during the past year than in any former twelve-months. Their faith, however, responded, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." The motion called upon them to submit, and they did so, not only because God had a right to determine the way and the measure in which he might see fit to put their faith to the trial, but because they ought to feel assured that in all His dispensations there was wisdom. Much that was hidden at present would shine forth at some distant period with greater lustre; the future would perhaps bring to light evils which could have been effectually removed only by those very crosses. The resolution spoke, however, not merely of submission to bereavements and afflictions, but of confidence in God, which they might well feel when they contrasted the insignificance and insufficiency of the creature, with the power and the all-sufficiency of their great Creator and Redeemer. Instruments must fail, mental vigour must decay, but He who was head over all things to his church yet lived, and would carry on his designs to their completion. (Hear, hear.) Amidst all that might be harassing to man, God looked with calm repose, with entire and infinite satisfaction to the issue. Whatever might be the afflictions and disappointments to which they were sometimes called to submit, they would have no more effect upon the certainty of the accomplishment of God's great ends, than the mere falling of a leaf in the forest could affect the power of vegetation throughout the globe.

(Cheers.) Confidence in God, however, was not merely becoming in and absolutely incumbent upon them, but it ought to be regarded as affecting the character and the success of their missionary efforts. Success, it had often been said, would materially depend on their exertions being conducted in the spirit which belonged to such efforts. They had been forcibly reminded on the preceding day, that the main efficacy of the donations given to such objects depended not so much on the amount as on the spirit in which they were given. They might expect that their exertions would be most prospered by God when they were pervaded by that very spirit of confidence to which he had referred. But he would not proceed in what might have the appearance of a somewhat mournful strain. He would not touch that string too much, when God himself was furnishing them with matter for congratulation and praise. They were called by the resolution itself to think on what God had done for them, in what it termed, "the continued exercise of his grace." The Society, as had been stated by the chairman, was at first feeble in its resources, and humble in its efforts; and surely it had grown to a Society which they might well look upon, if not as mighty, yet as very powerful. It had continued to add to its agency, to enlarge its sphere of operation; and not only had it been encouraged, but almost compelled to do it, by its success. (Cheers.) In so doing, however, the Society had passed through great difficulties, by which it had sometimes been almost overwhelmed, but God had carried its supporters through them all. (Cheers.) It might partake as much of folly as of sin, if they doubted for a moment that God would continue to exercise his grace towards them hereafter. If their gratitude were genuine it would be ardent. If they looked to the East and to the West, they felt assured that they had matter for thanking God and taking courage. In the east the labours of the Society were going forward in translations as well as in preaching. The chain of caste continued to be broken; Brahmins, bloated with all the pride of a bigoted priesthood, were willing to come to the feet of Jesus, and sit as little children in his school. (Cheers.) The report had told them of the success of the Society, in the increased earnestness with which the circulation of the Scriptures and of tracts had been hailed. Converts from heathenism had become adorned with all the graces of the Christian character. Efforts had been made by the supporters of a false faith to meet the labours of this and other societies, by endeavouring to circulate their own tracts, and by those very efforts intimating the weakness of their cause, and showing that it was sinking into decrepitude. (Hear, hear.) If they turned their eyes for a moment to that interesting scene of their labours—the West, they saw the immense number of attendants at their churches increased by vast and astonishing accessions, so that they were presented with a return of no less than 28,000 members; to one church 302 members had been added in one year. Another church which seven years ago only numbered 13 members, had now 3000. (Cheers.) In the converts they saw the same spirit of liberality, integrity, and simplicity which had so long marked the character of the negro in the west; and the elements of which were in a considerable measure nourished amidst all the miseries and horrors of slavery. (Cheers.) Let them then adore God for the manifestation which he had given of his mercy. Let them acknowledge the extraordinary grace by which the former sons of degradation and oppression had been raised so high among those who now enjoyed the glorious liberty of the children of God. (Cheers.) He would conclude by observing, that if it were necessary—and it certainly was—that those who presented the report should tell of bereavements and crosses, yet they could contrast with them the delightful intelligence, that an additional number of the heralds of truth had been sent forth to the field of missionary labour. That was an encouraging fact; it called upon them to feel animated in the work, but it would be shown by other speakers that it was also a loud call for increasing liberality and exertion. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. WILLIAM LEWIS, of Chatham, said that the resolution which had been so ably submitted to the meeting, led them to the interesting duty of reviewing the dispensations of Divine Providence, as illustrated by the movements of this Society; and some of the most peculiar and beautiful features in the Divine administration had received from the varied scenes through which this institution had passed, a degree of light and development which placed them in a conspicuous and a glorious position. One peculiarity in the Divine administration was this, that the wise Disposer of all events delighted in achieving the most magnificent results by the smallest means. For an illustration of that principle, he would refer to what this Society was in its origin, and what it was now. (Hear, hear.) Could they refer to the circumstances under which its early friends first assembled, small in number, and opposed by many of their brethren; and then look at the success which had ensued from their efforts, without acknowledging "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." (Cheers.) Another peculiarity in the dispensations of Providence was the educating the sweetest mercies, from events which presented at one time the most appalling and terrific aspect. Many of the circumstances in which the directors of this Society had been placed, might be illustrated by the appearances of the present morning, gloomy at its commencement, but bright and cheering in the issue. (Cheers.) He would refer to one or two facts in the history of the Society which would further illustrate that sentiment. With what melancholy feelings was the intelligence received in this country of the fire at Serampore; but had this institution suffered loss by it? On the contrary, it had from that time received an impulse, and derived a strength, by which it was enabled to go forward from strength to strength, achieving new triumphs, and rejoicings in a fresh accumulation of energy. (Cheers.) At their annual meetings also they had frequently heard the most gloomy accounts of pecuniary embarrassment; but after the successful effort of their brother Knibb, he (Mr. Lewis) thought it would be admitted that those embarrassments had been great advantages. (Cheers.) He was aware that there was something anomalous in that assertion; but then the cause in which they were engaged was the cause of God, and his blessing attended alike its adversities and its successes; and he firmly believed, especially in reference to his own cause, that all things would work together for its good. (Cheers.)

He was reminded also of another event, the violent persecution which arose in Jamaica, and the attempt to suppress Christianity by burning down their chapels, as though the destruction of their houses could suppress the influence of Divine Grace in their hearts, or retard for a moment the glorious gospel of the blessed God. (Cheers.) The resolution expressed feelings of mingled pain and pleasure, sorrow and joy, regret and gratitude. He would not dwell on the painful events that had occurred during the past year; but while with reverence they bowed to the will of their Heavenly Father, might they not cherish the persuasion that those events would become blessings in their turn; and that those portions of God's present dealings, which they could not yet comprehend, would hereafter receive a satisfactory elucidation? Might they not attend to the voice of their Divine Master, as speaking to them through those mournful providences, and saying, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter?" (Cheers.) Might he be allowed to advert for a moment to that delightful spot, Jamaica? Not to overlook other beautiful spots by which Jamaica was surrounded; but as Jamaica was itself the chief scene of oppression and violence—the selected field where the great battle was to be fought between oppression and Christianity, the immediate scene from whence the triumphs of the altar were to be announced which would resound throughout the whole world, and would be rehearsed from generation to generation until the close of time,—he would refer for a moment to the present aspect of that delightful island, as contrasted with its past history. And here he was reminded of the reflections they were wont to hear cast upon the negro character by their unrighteous oppressors. They were told, for instance, in excuse for the cruelties inflicted upon them, that they were not to be regarded as men; that they were not to be considered as intelligent beings; that there was something in the physical constitution of the negro which rendered him unfit for intellectual attainments, and incapable of human sympathies. They were told, that when emancipation was announced, they might expect to learn that the hands of the negroes had been dyed in the blood of Europeans; but how gloriously had the result negatived such cruel, interested insinuations. (Cheers.) The negroes of the West Indies had been rescued from a twofold slavery—from the literal oppression of their hard-hearted taskmasters, and from the more degrading moral slavery which they had too long endured in the service of sin and Satan. If they looked at the present state of religion among them, they would be compelled to acknowledge that God had led them forward beyond themselves. The spiritual blessings resulting from the means employed there, were assimilated to the fertility of the soil, and to the rapid way in which natural vegetation advanced. The seed was no sooner scattered, than the showers of Heaven descended upon it; it immediately began to vegetate, and at the close of every service the missionaries were encouraged by the anxious inquiries of multitudes round them, asking, "What shall we do to be saved?" (Cheers.) But, whilst they thanked God for having directed his people to the use of proper instruments for the attainment of those ends, they did not attribute that success to the zeal and assiduity, the spirituality and devotedness of their brethren; but they remembered who had said, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." (Loud cheers.) From private sources of information, as well as from intelligence communicated through this Society, those who had given their attention to the subject, learned from time to time that the gospel had taught these people "to deny ungodliness and worldly lust, and to live soberly, honestly, and godly in this present world." One of the charges brought against the negro population of the West Indies was, that if they had their liberty they would not work for wages; but how had that prediction been verified? It was now known to the whole world that the negro would not work without wages. (Laughter and cheers.) Wherever they had been kindly treated by their masters, their conduct had been exemplary, and their industry remarkable, especially amongst those who professed and felt the power of Christianity. If there had been a drawback from the amount of labour, and if there had been a sacrifice required by the British public in consequence of it, what must be their feelings, as men and as Christians, when they referred to the cause of that drawback? The negro woman was no longer the slave, driven in the gang before the cruel lash. (Hear, hear.) No! she had risen to her proper station in society. She appeared in her proper character as a wife, and as a mother; she was employed in her domestic occupations. (Cheers.) Instances might be given which would afford delightful proof of the excellency of the character of the female population, especially under the influence of Divine Grace. The children, also, were withdrawn from field labour for the purposes of education, to learn in their own language the blessed truths of revelation, that they in a future day might, under the Divine blessing, become missionaries, and proclaim in Africa that faithful saying, so worthy of all acceptance, "that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." (Loud cheers.) But while those cheering appearances were presented in the West Indies, they must not conclude, because the numerical evidence of success in the East presented so different a scale of proportion, that nothing had been done there. On the contrary, much had been accomplished. The description of labour required there was very different to that required in the West; but so far from promising inferior results, in a future day they anticipated a much larger degree of influence. (Cheers.) The chief work of the missionaries had been translating and publishing the sacred Scriptures in the different dialects, so that the teeming myriads of the East might each of them "read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God." The process was more slow, the difficulties greater; but the promise of God was sure—"My word shall not return unto me void, but shall accomplish that which I please, and prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it." (Cheers.) The bread was cast upon the waters, and it would be seen after many days. The leaven had not lost its saving power—its penetrating influence. It had commenced its progress: though slow, it would be sure; and Israel would bud and blossom, and fill the face of the earth with fruit. (Cheers.) But the great and practical question for them was, what part they were to bear individually and collectively, in this glorious enterprise? Shame and confusion did, indeed, belong to them and to all their churches; but

let them not rest under the morbid influence of conscious guilt—

"There is a fountain fill'd with blood,
Drawn from Emanuel's veins;
And sinners plunged beneath that flood,
Lose all their guilty stains." (Cheers.)

Let them seek, with fervent importunity and perseverance, the pardon of their past offences, and then they would enjoy the sweet influence of the Holy Spirit, which would enable them to go forward with renewed strength in the name of Him whose cause they espoused, whose love they regarded as the only motive and stimulus to action, and whose glory in the everlasting salvation of mankind was the end of all their efforts. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in submitting the resolution said, that the question as to the efficiency of the labours of missionaries in the West Indies, had been completely settled by a work recently published by Joseph John Gurney. That distinguished gentleman, than whom no one was more competent to form a sound judgment, had borne high testimony to the Baptist, Wesleyan, and other missionaries, and to the same excellent clergymen. He had made the distinction between those who were the friends of the negro, and those who were not. Whenever any reports reached this country prejudicial to the missionaries, they could confidently appeal to Mr. Gurney's book as furnishing a triumphant reply. (Cheers.) The bereavements which the Society had sustained, should teach them their entire dependence on God, and the duty of increasing fervour in supplicating this blessing. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. Dr. VAUGHAN rose to move—

"That this meeting heartily rejoices in the commencement of a mission to Western Africa, and in the zealous dispositions shown to aid it by the churches in Jamaica, all which they hope may be regarded as the earnest of the dawning of that day in which 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God.'"

The resolution referred immediately to that portion of the shores of Africa, which for ages had been the special inlet of European rapacity. It brought to their view that long line of territory over which a traffic had been extended for many generations, in connexion with which the European had seemed as though he was labouring to demonstrate that civilization was a curse, rather than a blessing. (Hear, hear.) It was impossible to look to such a country without the most painful associations. The European had made his appearance there as one of the direst of pestilences. At his bidding, the virulence that had accompanied him had spread itself from the shores to the interior, and proved the destruction of multitudes. Europeans should have visited such a territory as messengers of mercy. (Hear, hear.) They ought to have landed upon those shores to have consecrated them as a house for God, as the gate of heaven; instead of which, however, they had so desecrated them as to render them the home of Satan, and the very gate of hell. (Hear, hear.) There it was that European intellect had contracted her greatest guilt; that European spoliation had incurred her deepest stain; and there, if anywhere, European piety might well hide its face, and blush with sorrows. What had been the language of their conduct for a series of ages to the millions of that continent? Had it not been in effect to tell them that the white men's wisdom was a wisdom only to do evil? that their civilization was only a certain training to make men more dexterous in crime? that their very religion was as intolerant, selfish, and merciless as that of the man who bowed down to wood and stone? Who could call to mind the sweeping scourges which had passed in succession over many of the states of Europe, and fail to see in them the punishment, at least in part, of the guilt thus contracted? Spain, probably, among all those states, had incurred the deepest stain; and where could they find a country whose modern history bore evident marks of the displeasure of the Governor of the world? It was only a little more than three centuries since the Spanish monarchy was the great monarchy of Europe; so great, that every nation had its fear that it was soon to be absorbed into it. But when Spain became the great slave dealer, from that hour a blight came upon her. (Cheers.) She would impose slavery, and she had been made a slave. (Cheers.) It would not be difficult to show them that at the period to which he had alluded, there were in the social institutions of Spain, as well as in her vast resources, that which promised to raise her as a model for the free and enlightened nations of Europe greatly in preference to England. (Hear, hear.) But from the time when the new world was discovered, and that theatre opened a source for slave traffic, came all the demoralization belonging to those who dealt in such things; and on the heels of the crime came heaven's sure retribution. (Hear, hear.) He ought not to be expected to look at that as having nothing judicial in it; on the contrary, he believed that the hand of God had been there. (Hear, hear.) He did not profess to have sagacity enough to be able to say precisely to what extent it was that God dealt with nations, besides the dealings which he had with them as individuals composing nations; but that he did deal with nations as such, would seem to be one of the clearest doctrines both of the Old and the New Testament. He could not but regret that their Christian brethren who differed from them on one point, that of national establishments, did not exercise something like candour towards the dissenters, and not at once say, that because they did not see precisely with churchmen on that point, therefore they were indifferent to the Christian character of their fatherland. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, dissenters entertained as solemn a feeling of the responsibility of the country in the sight of Providence as churchmen. (Hear, hear.) The real point at issue was, not as to the fact of responsibility, but simply as to the mode in which that responsibility was to be carried out. It did not occur to dissenters, as expedient, or as consonant with the genius of Christianity, that they should be made to wait the pleasure of the men of the world, in order to ascertain in what form, or to what extent the Church of God should lift up her voice on the side of humanity and of religion. (Cheers.) They believed that the voice so to be raised in any land was likely to be one of broader compass, one of deeper genuineness, one of greater force, and one that would be more acceptable to God, from rising spontaneously up to himself, and going up to heaven unrestrained by the influence of those who were without. (Cheers.) Mere forms, whether they belonged to states or to churches, were but of little value in the sight of heaven; the spirit of the mind's feel

worship was the measure of a nation's piety in whatsoever form it might appear. (Cheers.) He had not touched upon that point for the purpose of being controversial, but in order to put themselves right in the view of those who had not at all times, in what they had said or in what they had written, done them the justice which they had a right to expect. (Hear, hear.) Spain held out a solemn lesson on national responsibility, and other countries did the same. It was to him a matter of wonder that England had not, ere this, brought upon herself the Divine displeasure for her guilt in connexion with slavery; it was, however, a great comfort, that in reference to that sin she had been granted grace to bring forth at last something like fruits meet for repentance. (Cheers.) They were not taught how to think or how to feel on that subject by their senators. (Cheers.) On the contrary, they had had to teach their senators, and even after many years' tuition they found them very dull scholars. (Laughter, and loud cheers.) Fashions worked downwards, but the elements of the world's regeneration he would venture to affirm, took their initiative much more commonly with the many than with the few. (Cheers.) It was a delightful fact, that this Society had sent its missionaries to the shores of Africa. A vast debt was owing to that injured country. He knew that one of the most solemn bequests which the chairman would leave unto his children would be, that they should prosecute to their utmost, Britain's missions to injured Africa. (Hear, hear.) They were all bound to that cause—the stain had been deepening for generations, and it could be washed away only by the labours of generations. He was delighted to find that the churches of Jamaica were compelling the Society to efforts in this cause, and to aid in its promotion were supplying both money and men. He could easily suppose that some of the literati and men of taste, might not be a little scandalized at the idea of sending out black men in the character of preachers. (Cheers.) Those men, however, had already shown that they possessed hearts susceptible of the noblest moral impressions of the gospel (hear, hear); and he doubted not that they would produce powerful effects in their native country. Wherever they could find a sound mind, a heart morally right with God, and an aptness to teach, they had the best security that the instruction would lie in accordance with the oracles of God. (Cheers.) In the world's history various portions of the globe seemed to have their turn of elevation. Was not the turn of Africa to come? (Cheers.) God forbid that its long stay of wrong and injury should not be followed by liberty and light, by piety and peace. He could not believe that the world was to come to an end, and the history of Africa to close, the dark chapter it had hitherto been. He pitied from his soul the man, the woman, that did not feel all heart and solicitude to do something for the good of Africa. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. W. Brock said, that the resolution called upon them heartily to rejoice, and he was quite sure that the meeting had been already moved to its adoption with hearty joy. He presumed that they were prepared to look out for something as the occasion of that joy. Dr. Vaughan had referred them to Western Africa. Men of science, learning, and philanthropy, had also had their attention directed to that country. The husband of their sovereign had presided over a meeting in that hall, the object of which was the benefit of Western Africa. Royalty, however, never would have occupied that seat for such a purpose, had it not been previously filled by good men, presiding over meetings like the present. (Hear, hear.) He could not, however, forget that there was much in the end designed by the African Colonisation Society, and in the means proposed for its accomplishment, of which they stood considerably in doubt. He by no means desired to throw out reflections on that Society; but as religious men they claimed the right to think and to judge for themselves. (Cheers.) Anything which went before Christianity excited their suspicion. They held fast by the doctrine, and by the practice that Christianity must precede civilization, and not civilization precede Christianity. (Cheers.) That principle they held fast, without reflecting at all upon the African Colonisation Society, or the excellent men who composed it. He thought that the Baptist Missionary Society were employing better means for the accomplishment of the object, and that brighter prospects were opening up before them. Two of their brethren, the Rev. J. Clarke and Dr. Prince, had already gone to Africa, and he could not but rejoice when he remembered the circumstances under which that mission had been commenced. Some persons were anxious to obtain for them a passage on board the government steamers, and they were not a little mortified, not a little chagrined, when told by a minister of the crown, that no missionary could embark by them, except those belonging to the established church. (Hear, hear.) But God had caused even that to work together for good. Their brethren, instead of being now at Downing-street, succumbing and asking with great respect when they could go to Africa, were actually gone (cheers); and, instead of waiting on lord John this, or lord John that (laughter), were in the presence of majesty itself in Africa, holding a conference with king Bell and king Agva—by the way, not an inappropriate name for a Baptist (laughter and loud cheers)—and making arrangements for the great work of preaching there the unsearchable riches of Christ. The reverend gentleman then read extracts from a letter received from Dr. Prince, containing a graphic account of their interview with the kings referred to; and stating that when their majesties were assured that they had no political or commercial object in view, they at once consented to the establishment of the mission. The missionaries had already become acquainted with the existence in Africa of two of the greatest evils that ever infested or injured the human family. One was, the utter recklessness of human life; the other, the prevalence of polygamy. He was sure that the present assembly would rejoice in a mission, one of the indirect consequence of which would be the destruction of polygamy. The women of England had been appealed to; let them remember those green swards, where infancy with all its innocence, and boyhood with all its roguery, and youth with all its promise, and manhood with all its vigour, and womanhood with all its gracefulness combined to reverence their authority, and to reciprocate the expressions of their tenderest care (cheers), and remember that all would have been marred by the existence of polygamy. With regard to the utter recklessness of hu-

man life, he held in his hand a document, in which it was stated that life was of less value in Africa than a printed cotton handkerchief. (Hear, hear.) Men, women, and children, were absolutely at the mercy of passion, of caprice, and of brute force; but let the missionaries succeed; and the African, whether the offer came from the European or the American flesh-monger, would scorn it with indignation, and resolve never more to pollute his hands with his brother's blood. (Loud cheers.) The reverend gentleman then reprobated in strong terms the connexion between the American churches and American slavery, and expressed his conviction, that unless they adopted measures for dissolving it, slavery would prove their destruction. The ulterior advantage of sending the Gospel to Africa, would be the conducting of its inhabitants to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom they would find to be wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, let the meeting therefore heartily rejoice; let them feel that the world was not to have all the joy; let them feel that they were dignified by the greatness of the object with which they were connected. But how were the pecuniary means for sustaining the mission to be furnished? The Jamaica churches would furnish their quota. He had been asked; could the voluntary system support Christianity? What else supported it in Jamaica? What else supported it in India? What else supported it in Labrador? What else supported it in the South Seas? It was an important question. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) From whence did the money come by which the various Missionary Societies were sustained? It was given under the influence of a spirit of consecration of God. (Cheers.) As they were going to support that mission, not by acts of parliament, not by money extorted from the people, whether they would or no, but by money given with a calm and dignified air, they ought heartily to rejoice. (Loud cheers.) The voluntary principle came out everywhere. Dr. Vaughan must have a look at it. (Laughter.) Let them look at it, not as a petty question, but as one with which all that was great in religion was essentially connected. (Cheers.) He believed that with it stood identified all the future destinies of the churches of Christ. The compulsory principle was like a meteor, which arose from the filth of the dark ages, having been generated there; but it was of the earth earthy, and to the earth it would come. (Loud cheers.) The voluntary principle, however, was like a star—it was God's own principle (renewed cheers), that principle which led him to give his only begotten son. They were possessors of religion, only in proportion, as they were possessors of the voluntary principle. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in submitting the resolution for adoption, related an anecdote furnished to him by Mr. Knibb, from which it appeared that a coloured man had left Jamaica some time ago, destitute of all pecuniary means, and with the Bible only in his hand, for the purpose of preaching to his countrymen, in their native land, the unsearchable riches of Christ. They had not since heard of him; but they could not doubt that, going out with such simplicity of motive, God would bless his labours.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. PIKE, of Derby, moved—

"That the success of the appeal for strengthening and extending the mission in various quarters for relieving the Society from the debt of last year, together with the steady increase of the ordinary receipts, and the aid afforded by the Bible Translation Society towards the printing of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of the East, call for devout thankfulness, while the correspondent success of the mission and the increase of its expenditure call for still more vigorous exertion. That this meeting, therefore, would affectionately urge on every church, and the friends of the mission, to make systematic and strenuous efforts on its behalf."

He had been introduced to the meeting by their esteemed Chairman, as connected with another Missionary Society; but it was altogether a kindred one to the present, and the brethren of both met together in India as one. The resolution he had proposed contained many important topics; but it would be impossible then to speak upon them all, particularly as many of them had reference to the highly-interesting and encouraging report which had been read. There were, however, two subjects to which he would allude, as they were most prominent in the resolution: the one was—thankfulness; the other—exertion. They had, indeed, great cause to praise God for the past, and to trust him for the future; at the same time, it was abundantly evident that there was much cause for increased exertion. (Hear, hear.) The western field was, he apprehended, the most delightfully fertile spot which the church of God had at the present day—a spot where the harvest was more truly plentiful than in any other place, and where the numbers brought to Christ were probably greater, in proportion to the population and the means employed, than in this their own land. Yet there was much cause for exertion even there. (Hear, hear.) When, however, they turned to another field with which the Society to which he belonged had more immediately identified its labours, how wide a scene presented itself for Christian exertion! The number of missionaries in India, compared with the wants of that country, were a mere handful. Bengal, the more immediate field of Christian exertion, was computed to contain about 30,000,000 of inhabitants; there were but 20, 30, or 40 missionaries in that part of the world. The West Indies had, from different Societies, probably 200 missionaries (and they wanted, as they were informed, many more); but the population there amounted to about 1,000,000: therefore, Bengal, to be supplied on the same scale, would want at once 6000 additional missionaries. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Gratitude called for exertion, and gratitude should be expressed by thank-offerings to God. An interesting illustration of that occurred some time back, in the case of a humble, pious friend of his (Mr. P.), who sent a £5 note, which he wished to be devoted to the cause of Christ; and gave, as a reason for presenting the offering, that part of his family had recently been brought to a knowledge of the gospel, and joined themselves to Christ. On another occasion a friend sent a donation of £5, and the reason assigned was, that he had that day fallen from his horse, and had received no injury. (Cheers.) How many thank-offerings did those present owe to God? The case of Jacob afforded them scriptural sanction for offerings of that description. He devoted a tenth part of all his substance to the Lord. Oh, that more of Jacob's spirit prevailed in the churches! There was no sweeter way than that of presenting offerings to God for

mercies enjoyed—thank-offerings for spiritual blessings, each of which cost the blood of the Son of God, and each of which was more valuable than worlds. He had been much struck a short time since with the description given by the earliest evangelical historian of the manner in which the gospel spread in the primitive ages. The disciples of that day were so zealous and untiring in preaching the glad tidings of salvation from country to country, that it could not be matter of wonder that such a spirit was happily successful in spreading the Christian cause throughout the Roman empire. Notwithstanding all the Christian zeal which now existed, how much more was still required before fruits to anything like such an extent as at that period, were obtained. Missionaries, with whom he was well acquainted, had told him that they had seen assemblies a hundred times as large as the present, gathered to unite in the worship of the Moloch of the East. (Hear, hear.) One had sent him a copy of the hymns sung before that idol; but so abominable were they, that he had never dared to show a single line to any human eye besides his own, and scarcely dared to read the whole himself. Such was the worship of the countless millions of Hindoostan, among whom the missionaries of this Society had been long labouring, and, blessed be God, labouring successfully. (Cheers.) A few days since he had received a translation of a hymn sung before an idol, in connexion with the sacrifice of human victims. The missionary who sent it received it from a youth who was himself to have been sacrificed, but who was rescued by British officers. (Cheers.) That youth had since become a partaker of the gospel of Christ, and for one year had been connected with the blessed flock of the Saviour. (Loud cheers.) Here, then, they saw what idolatry was—cruel as death, cruel as hell, and dark and wicked as Satan himself could wish it to be. And here they saw what Christianity was. They had been reminded that it ennobled and elevated—it did so; that it changed the countenance—it did so. He had witnessed that, in our own favoured land, where the blessed influence of the gospel had been felt in a heart. He had seen countenances repulsive, and strongly expressive of evil passions, completely changed when brought under the softening and sanctifying influence of the truth. (Cheers.) It was to spread that gospel, and the blessed truths which it contained, that they had met, and that every one of them should be anxious to unite their utmost efforts. The resolution referred to thanksgiving. He would just describe to them a scene of thanksgiving which occurred not long ago in India. A very estimable missionary, whom he knew, went to visit a native brother, who was dangerously ill. That native had not become acquainted with the gospel till late in life; but when he felt its power he became a humble, consistent, happy follower of the Lamb. Such he lived for a few short years, and then this dangerous illness fell upon him. During that time of affliction he spoke with grateful feelings of the contrast between his circumstances in his youthful days, and those of his children. He observed to what excess of riot he had run, and how his children had neither the will nor the power to do as he had done—so delightfully had Christianity changed the whole course of their lives. He then poured out his thanks for the gospel, saying that he had been enveloped in darkness, and that the missionary had come 16,000 miles to show him the way to heaven. "You," said he, "are an apostle to me, as much as Paul was to the Corinthians and Galatians." Again he referred to the time when he first began to inquire after salvation, to his doubts and fears, when he knew not what to do, or how to pray: "But now," said he, "blessed, blessed, blessed be the Lord!" (Cheers.) Surely when such effects of the gospel were visible, perhaps, but seldom, amid the immense population of India; but abounding in the more fertile islands of the West, they must be constrained to adopt the language of the native brother just alluded to, and say, "Blessed, blessed, blessed be the Lord!" (Loud cheers.) The resolution also referred to the Bible Translation Society (great applause), and to the efforts made to diffuse the blessed book of God. He took a lively interest in that Society (cheers), and had taken a very lively one in the older Society, having been a member of it for many years, although he confessed his feelings towards it of late had very much altered, in consequence of what appeared to him the inconsistency of its managers. (Hear, hear.) Let that, however, pass. Their object was to spread the blessed Bible; that book which made its possessors wise for a time, and happy for eternity. He would ask this numerous assembly Did they love the Bible? Were they guided by the Bible? Was it leading them to Heaven. He trusted that it was, and that they could say,

"Grace taught my wandering feet
To tread the Heavenly road,
And new supplies I hourly meet
While pressing home to God."

If such were the case he was sure they loved the Bible, and would delight to assist in circulating it, and the principal work of the missionary was to prepare the Bible. He would relate a fact strikingly illustrative of the value of the Bible. A young woman who had received scriptural instruction in a Sabbath-school, and who had the precious truths of the Bible stored up in her mind, was, by a sudden attack of illness, deprived both of sight and hearing, which all the medical persons to whom she was taken, gave no hope of being restored to her. She became inconsolable—none knew how to comfort her—could she have read, or heard the blessed Bible, they would have read or spread its sacred pages before her. At last a happy thought occurred to one who witnessed her distress. He took the Bible and placed it on her bosom. She felt it and said—"That book is my only comfort?" She began to repeat passages from it. She wiped away her tears; nor was she ever after seen to weep on account of her afflictions. She had become one of the happiest of creatures, and often spoke of the exalted delight she experienced in communion with her God. (Cheers.) See then what the Bible could do? He prayed that they might surrender themselves to Him who was its author, and that they might unceasingly love that cause which was so closely identified with the Bible. He besought them, therefore, to help this Society. The wants of millions demanded additional help. He trusted they would bear in mind the thank-offerings they owed to God, and adopting the language of the Psalmist, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me;" they would bind the missionary cause to their hearts, till death called them from time to time to enter on the solemnities of eternity. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. T. ARCHER rose to second the resolution. It was the first time, but he hoped it would not be the last, that he had stood there as the advocate of the Baptist Missionary Society. (Cheers.) The labours of its missionaries demanded the warmest approbation of their conduct. Those engaged in the West Indies had frequently been charged with being political. The ground of that charge was their interference with certain external and social arrangements which, as Christians and as men, they felt bound to condemn. The fault, however, attached to those who had so united the church and the world, that they could not carry out their spiritual plans without trenching on the state. (Hear, hear.) The parties who condemned their conduct did not object to political ministers abstractedly,—they only objected to them when their views were opposed to their own. (Cheers.) Had they taught the emancipated negroes to take whatever wages their masters chose to pay them, and to submit to all their appointments, then they would have been most worthy men, types and models for Christian missionaries, fit to be apostolic successors. (Laughter, and loud cheers.) It was not in kind and gentle language that Luther spoke when he shook the vatican; or that Knox spoke when he marshalled the sons of Scotland under the banner of covenant and reformation. (Cheers.) He would specify one or two points which should lead to the practical exemplification of that voluntary principle of which they had heard. Millions of immortal beings were passing on to the eternal state, some of whom were perishing every moment. It became all whom he was addressing to cherish the feeling of their individual responsibility to endeavour to effect their rescue. Even the poorest might gain an immortality of fame by aiding in this great work. Who did not rejoice in the success of this Society's labours in the West Indies? Physiologists had told them that man had descended from the ourang outang. (Laughter.) People had strange tastes when they endeavoured to trace their origin to monkeys. (Cheers.) If, however, they found such an affinity, let them rejoice in it—he claimed no such descent. (Laughter and cheers.) Lawrence had told them that the physical constitution of negroes would prevent them from receiving the truths of Christianity, but the events which had transpired in the West Indies had completely silenced the calumny. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put, and agreed to.

The Rev. MORTLOCK DANIEL said he knew of no language more appropriate to their circumstances, on the present occasion, than that of the psalmist—"Bless the Lord, oh my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name."—"Return unto thy rest, oh, my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee." The year of jubilee was at hand, and sincerely did he hope that every individual present would personally show that they had learnt how to celebrate it. The age of the Society had only added to its vigour; and as it was advancing in years, it would still be fruitful in old age, to show that the Lord was upright, and there was no unrighteousness in him. The resolution which he had to submit, requested that the treasurer and secretaries of this Society would kindly continue their services for the ensuing year. He was sure he expressed the sentiments of every individual present, when he said that the cordial thanks of the meeting were due to those kind friends. (Cheers.) Their worthy treasurer had magnified his office; he had been more anxious to treasure the spiritual interests of the Society than its fleeting funds. The resolution being simply *pro forma*, allowed him to wander where he pleased, and he would just say that he looked forward with hopeful solicitude to some future period, when the only vacuum in this vast assembly should be filled with the presence of their beloved Queen. (Cheers.) He prayed that her crown might be studded with the matchless gems of Christianity, and, in the most interesting and important sense of the word, that she might be a nursing mother to the Israel of God. (Cheers.) He wanted the religion of Christ to become the religion of the country. From his heart he was an advocate for national Christianity. (Hear, hear.) He wished that every man, woman, and child were a participant of the grace of God; and well did he know that this could only be effected by the operations of the spirit of God condescending to work in connexion with the instrumentality of the Christian church. It was not by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord. Would that the nobles of the land were ennobled with the sanctities of Heaven, and that they would, both from a sense of duty and privilege, unite with them in disseminating the truths of their common Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the world. (Cheers.) When they said that Dissenters were too circumscribed in their sympathies, too narrow in their minds, to love a national Christianity, they libelled them. (Hear, hear.) They did love a national Christianity; they were not satisfied with the Christianity of a nation; they would only be satisfied with the Christianity of a world. (Cheers.) It was true, they had not yet learned that there was any particular charm in the impress of prelatial shoes. (Hear, hear.) They had not yet learned to respect the mere tread of an archbishop more than the ugly toe of a Roman pontiff. (Laughter and cheers.) Nevertheless, Christianity they loved, and the Christianity of a nation they loved to see. (Cheers.) They knew that the triumphs of the Redeemer were universal; nor did they for a moment doubt their ultimate success. They had an absolute promise, to which they would do well to take heed; and though their arms might drop short of their aim, and their efforts be sometimes clouded by apparent disappointments, yet there was one whose arm could not be shortened, so it must save; whose ear could not be heavy, so it must hear; and who spoke to the Missionary Church amid all her disappointments, reverses, and embarrassments, "My Counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure." (Cheers.) The efficacy of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ was the foundation of all missionary success; and if the heart of Jesus could be chilled; if the sympathies of Jesus could be exhausted; if the intercession of their great High Priest within the veil could be of none effect, oh, then well might their hearts faint within them; then might they weep, and well weep the tears of despair! But Jesus had risen, and had taken his seat at the right hand of the Majesty on High; and one of the most pleasing reflections which had crossed his (Mr. D.) mind during the day, was, that this Society belonged not to them, but to Jesus, who was King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. (Cheers.) Let them then resolve, in the strength of the Lord to go forward; not to diminish their prayers; not to

relax their efforts, but to redouble their energies, until the knowledge of the Lord should cover the earth as the waters covered the sea. (Cheers.) If they had had no success, it would still be their duty to use the means; but when they had been so mightily encouraged by past success, the very stones in the streets would cry against them were they to appear at all supine in so glorious a work—"Forward, forward, to the help of the Lord against the mighty!" and every impediment should be removed, every stumbling-block should become a step, and the Lord alone should be exalted in this their day. (Cheers.) He looked forward with the greatest pleasure to the approaching jubilee. The next time they would be permitted to assemble within this hall, he hoped they would be able to sing, with all their hearts, and with gratitude to God—

"The year of jubilee is come."

But could they not resolve that the annual income of the Society should be considerably and permanently augmented? (Hear, hear.) Various allusions had been made to individual effort and individual obligation to Jesus Christ, and that was the only way by which the operations of the Society could be permanently extended. They must not satisfy themselves with what was done by the mass; but they must ask themselves, "What have we done individually for the prosecution and consummation of that enterprise, for the interests of which the world only stands?" (Cheers.) He hoped that the churches generally would arouse themselves to more enlarged activity, and that they should all be found considerably augmenting the Society's funds. They might rely with certainty upon ultimate success. God had promised to bless them, and that all the ends of the earth should fear him; and that Jesus should see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. It was with them to persevere, and use the means; it was with God to grant the blessing. It was for them to sow the seed, and the showers of grace would descend; the sun of righteousness would shine, and a copious and a glorious harvest would be secured; for the ensigns of anti-christ must be cast down, the accuser of the brethren must fall; every form of superstition and false religion must be rooted up, and Jesus Christ alone must reign. (Cheers.) The world might make war with him—earth and hell might unite their infernal malevolence against the achievements of his conquest—but the Lamb should overcome them, and the kingdoms of the world should become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ. (Long-continued cheering.)

The Rev. GEORGE PEARCE (a missionary returning to India), in seconding the resolution, took his leave of the Society, and earnestly entreated that additional missionaries might be sent to that country.

The resolution having been put and carried,

The Rev. E. STEANE affectionately commended the Rev. G. Pearce to the care and protection of Divine Providence during his voyage, and on his arrival in India.

JOHN SHOARD, Esq., of Bristol, moved—

"That the treasurer and secretaries be requested to continue their services; that Messrs. C. Bools, Cartwright and Wills Kitson, be auditors, and the following be the list of the committee for the ensuing year." (Names read.)

That the following be appended to Rule VIII., and form part of the plan of the Society:—"Farther, all country ministers who are annual subscribers, or whose congregations send an annual collection to the Society, and all treasurers and secretaries of county auxiliaries who may be in London, occasionally, shall be considered members of the committee *pro tempore*, and be entitled to attend and vote at its meetings."

T. AKED, Esq., seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to.

After a few words from the Chairman, the benediction was pronounced, and the meeting separated.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Institution was held at Exeter Hall on Monday 3rd inst. The weather was very unfavourable, the rain had been falling for hours, but every part of the large room was crowded. On the platform we noticed C. Hindley, Esq. M. P.; J. P. Plumptre, Esq. M. P.; E. Lytton, Esq. M. P.; Sergeant Jackson, M. P.; Sir R. Bateson, M. P.; Sir G. Rose; Colonel D'Est; Colonel Conelly, &c. &c. The chair was taken by J. E. Tennant, Esq. M. P.

The meeting having been opened by singing and prayer,

The CHAIRMAN rose and said that he had often thought of a remarkable passage which occurred in a great work of the infidel Gibbon, in which, in endeavouring to account on human reasons for the rapid and astonishing spread of early Christianity, he ascribed it not more to the purity of its own principles than to the pure and harmless lives of its early professors. There was much power and much truth in that shrewd observation, and it came perhaps from Gibbon, even with greater force than it should have done from a devout believer. It pointed out the necessity of every individual who would be instrumental in disseminating the gospel, watching narrowly that his own walk and conversation was worthy of the gospel [cheers]. It had always appeared to him that the most beautiful form in which Christianity had exhibited itself in modern days was that of a missionary, who for the first time sounded the name of the Saviour in the listening ear of a heathen—propounded to him not the subtle distinctions of sects, not the argumentative difference of church and dissent, but the one thrilling message of safety and redemption—the simple civilising endearing truths of the death and resurrection of Christ [cheers]. It imparted a feeling like that of coming out of the heated atmosphere of a furnace into the cool air of heaven, to turn from the angry polemics of two Christian churches agreeing in the essential and fundamental truths of Christianity, but each contending for the superiority of its own form for disseminating them—to contemplate the congregation of the first missionary who landed on foreign shores, with their features lighted up with all the eagerness of inquiry, with their eyes beaming with gratitude and wonder, and with their hearts expanding for the first time under the influence of divine truth [cheers]. In the Acts of the Apostles which was the first great missionary report, that ever was presented [cheers] they read that that principle with which Peter and his associates commenced their labours—responding to the cry of awakened thousands upon the day of Pentecost, "men and brethren; what shall we do?"—was, not by communicating any code of church government, but by pointing out to them the one great essential, "Repent and be baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus" [cheers]. It was one charm of missionary labours that that polemical

spirit seldom migrated from home. In the missions of the Wesleyans the very constitution of their church almost prohibited its possibility [cheers]. He was delighted to learn that on that platform there were the representatives of the great establishments of this country—that there were present members of the church of England, members of the church of Scotland [cheers] coming forward in openness and sincerity, to cheer on the labours of the Wesleyan methodists [applause]. He had been equally delighted in turning over the pages of the society's reports, to find in them the frequent mention in terms of satisfaction and gratitude of meetings between its missionaries, and those of the church of England [cheers]. He was irresistibly struck with an impression of the harmonising influence of genuine Christianity. A few days since he had just laid down one of the Wesleyan reports in which was recorded one of those instances of brotherly love in which a Wesleyan missionary on arriving at a station of the Church Missionary Society, sick, weary and ill, from the effects of a long voyage, in an open boat with a few converted Indians, met with the utmost kindness, when he (the chairman) took up a history of Brazil, which he had been reading a few days previously. Almost the first page contained an account of a meeting between two parties of adventurers in search of gold. Each had been led by a band of harmless Indians, who were unable to comprehend the value attached to the metal of which they were in search. The two parties met by the side of a mountain; they were utter strangers to each other, but an instantaneous consciousness of their mutual object excited their jealous fury. They exchanged no words, but eyeing each other for a moment like tigers, each party instinctively drew their weapons and commenced a murderous combat, which terminated only when one party rolled the other into the torrent beneath. The Indians to this moment pointed to the spot and designated it by the name of the river of death [hear, hear]. It was impossible not to contrast the influence of the spirit of peace and spirit of gold [cheers]. It might be said of missionary labour as of the extent of the British dominions, that the sun never set upon it, but only left one hemisphere to rise upon another. Other systems had had their converts and their followers, but they had likewise had their limits and their localities; but Christianity—broad, unbrageous, all comprehending Christianity, was excluded by no climate, and shrunk from no country as unsuited to its residence. There was one ennobling view in which missions must ever be regarded by philanthropists and statesmen. Christianity and civilisation had ever walked hand in hand. Wherever the gospel had extended, it had caused the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. Benefits temporal, in addition to eternal, had been derived from missionary labours and were they instantly to be suspended, yet the traces of those blessings would survive, to the latest generations [cheers]. But he felt that he had alluded to an impossibility: for they had the promise of eternal truth, that they should never fail [cheers].

The Rev. Dr. BUNTING then presented the financial report which stated that from the want of funds, the society had been almost prevented from occupying new spheres of labour, although there were claims for sixty missionaries, and a larger number of promising candidates than had ever presented themselves before. The only exceptions had been a deeply interesting mission to the Gold coasts and one to the Ashantees, for which a special fund had been raised [cheers]. The total receipts for the year 1840, including the Ashantee mission, were 90,182l. 8s. 8d.; whereas the expenditure had amounted to 109,226l. 15s. 10d., being an excess of 5,209l. 9s. 9d. over the preceding year. The actual deficiencies of the society, up to the 31st. December, 1840, were 39,916l. 6s. 11d., against which there was due to it 12,322l. 19s. 2d., which had been advanced as temporary loans for the erection of chapels at foreign stations, &c.

The Rev. J. BEECHAM then read an abstract of the general report which referred to the society's missions, and on the whole represented them as in a very prosperous state. Intelligence had been received of the death of nine missionaries; nineteen, including seven returning to their spheres of labour, had been sent out since the last anniversary. The central associations occupied by the society, were 280; the number of missionaries, 380, besides catechists, local assistants, school teachers, and other agents. The communicants at the various stations, were upwards of 80,000.

The Rev. Dr. MAHELLAR, (Moderator of the church of Scotland,) who was received with considerable applause, said, he deeply felt the kindness of the reception which as a stranger they had given him, but he might be permitted to regard the greeting not as a mere compliment to himself but as an expression of their respect for the church of Scotland to which he had the happiness to belong [loud cheers]. As a minister of that church he rejoiced in an opportunity of coming into personal communion with this society [cheers]. In his own name, and in the name of his brethren in Scotland, he held out the right hand of fellowship to the Wesleyans, and bid them God speed in the name of the Lord [cheers]. The mere reading of the motion committed to his charge, would, he was sure be sufficient to ensure its cordial acceptance. The report which had been read was such as a Christian society ought to put forth, it was characterized by simplicity and godly sincerity, and commended itself to every understanding, and every heart. They would not, however, have failed to observe that it disclosed a fact of a serious nature. The funds were not only exhausted, but a large amount of debt stood against the society, and it was thereby prevented assenting to many urgent applications for spiritual help. The committee had not wasted or misapplied the funds, on the contrary, they were able to say, "Lord, thou hast given us ten talents, and we have gained with them ten other talents" [cheers]. Not indeed in the form of gold and silver, but in what was unspeakably more precious, the diffusion of the knowledge of Christ and the conversion of souls to God [cheers]. This society in a certain measure possessed the grandeur of the great and glorious country to which they had the happiness to belong. Britain had her ambassadors, her envoys, her accredited agents in almost every quarter of the world. This society had its ambassadors for Christ in every corner of the world, beseeching men to be reconciled to God. It had its envoys or evangelists to carry the message of mercy and peace to perishing sinners, and it had its accredited agents to point out to the erring children of men the way of salvation. In all this their minds should be deeply affected, not with feelings of pride, or self-gratulation, but with gratitude for the honour and privilege they enjoyed in being able to make such exer-

tions, and in finding that those exertions were crowned with such encouraging success [cheers]. In the report which had been read, God was opening his case in reference to missions and laying it before them. He told them that there were loud calls, and pressing necessities. He showed them not the vision of one man crying, "Come over and help us," but of many thousands and millions, and he told them that in some places there were favourable beginnings, promising appearances, blessed results, and by means of those things he sought to convince the understanding, affect the heart, and dispose them more and more to enter into blessed co-operation with Him in accomplishing the purposes of his grace. He (Dr. M.) rejoiced to hear the response made to a remark in the report, when it said, "Let us cease to pray, if we cease to give." He trusted they were disposed to say in reference to prayer, "If I cease to pray, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth" [cheers]; and with regard to giving, he trusted they were also disposed to say, "let my right hand forget her cunning, let my right hand cease to be able to apply itself successfully to any matter of skill or interest if it be not opened through the opening of my heart to give as to the Lord" [cheers]. He experienced a high and holy gratification in being present on that occasion. He rejoiced to find they were of one heart and one mind [cheers]. In the present days of distraction and disunion, when the bands of society were loosened through all its gradations, and when there was found difference and discord among brethren, he rejoiced to find unity and harmony, and co-operation upon this platform. He trusted that this union would become more close, more affectionate, and more permanent, and that with one heart and one mind, they might labour in the things of God, and that if there were to be any rivalry, it would be which should most excel in showing forth, in his own spirit and character, the beauty of holiness, and be most successful in spreading the savour of the Redeemer's name throughout the world [loud cheers]. He begged to move,

"That the report, of which an abstract has just been read, be received and published; and that this meeting offers its grateful acknowledgments to Almighty God, for the encouraging measure of success which he continues to vouchsafe to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in common with other similar protestant institutions."

Sir G. MURRAY said that he felt much pleasure in being present on such an occasion as this. He had endeavoured, when holding a situation in the government of the country, to advance to the utmost of his ability the cause of this society. Those endeavours had proceeded from a thorough conviction of the excellent spirit which animated the Wesleyan body [cheers], of the great advantages which were likely to result from their operations throughout the whole foreign possessions of this kingdom. He made this statement, not on his own authority, but on the authority of the report. He found it there stated to the missionaries, "We cannot omit, without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties or secular disputes. You are teachers of religion, that alone should be kept in view. It is, however, a part of our duty as ministers, to enforce by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority, &c." [cheers]. Here were principles which it was impossible not to approve; and those principles, on looking further into the report, he found were acted upon by the missionaries. The Rev. Mr. Scott, of Sweden, spoke in forcible language against giving anything like a sectarian aspect to their work; and, alluding to the revival which had taken place in the national church there, urged the necessity of aiding that good work, not of inducing separation from that church. He (Sir G. M.) alluded to those principles because they were the principles of unlimited toleration, by which he had always endeavoured to shape his public conduct. He took this opportunity of expressing his deep and sincere respect for the Wesleyan body [cheers]. He had dwelt with much interest on the proceedings of this society. It was impossible to contemplate its progress without wonder, admiration, and gratitude to Almighty God. But little more than 100 years had elapsed since the Wesleyan Society arose, yet now it had established itself in almost every part of the world. He rejoiced in the successful operations of the society in the West Indies and in Africa [hear, hear]. He had had the gratification of addressing an assembly numerous as the present, which was convened with the anxious and eager desire of promoting the cause of civilization and Christianity in that vast continent. If he were asked how was civilization to be introduced into Africa, he would say by introducing Christianity [loud cheers]. But not only would they introduce civilization by introducing Christianity, they would also introduce good government [hear, hear]. Pure religion and good government would always be found united. It was bad government, the abuse of government which associated itself with superstition [loud cheers]. Bad government, the exercise of unjust and arbitrary power, in every age, and in every country had sought the aid of superstition, and cultivated and promoted it as its best ally, but pure religion was the surest ally, the surest promoter of good government, and rational liberty [cheers]. Those effects would be the result of the exertions of this society. He learnt with satisfaction that its operations had extended among the aborigines of different countries. So alive was the society to the wants of mankind, that almost as soon as a country was discovered, missionaries were found labouring there with assiduity and success. It was but very recently they had heard of the discovery of a country made by Sir Thos. Mitchell, and to which he had given the name of Australia Felix, and yet from the report they had heard that missionaries were labouring with success among the aborigines of that country. It was but the other day, they had heard of New Zealand, only to be filled with horror at its savage inhabitants, and now they heard of the almost miraculous progress of the conversion of that people from idolatry and savage manners to the knowledge of Christ, and the manners of civilized people [cheers]. On all these grounds, therefore, he cordially seconded the resolution [loud cheers].

J. P. PLUMPTRE, Esq. M.P. supported the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN read a note from the Earl of Hillsborough expressing regret at not being able to attend, and enclosing a donation of 20l. [cheers].

EDWARD LYTTON, Esq. M.P., moved,

"That this meeting, while contemplating with peculiar satisfaction the prosperous state of the society's African missions, both in the south and in the west, and the providential entrance afforded to its missionaries into the kingdom of Ashantee, offers its earnest prayers, that through the divine blessing, the expedition to the Niger may prove highly instrumental in eventually promoting the cause of Christianity and civilization in other parts of Africa."

As an Irish protestant, he had much pleasure in addressing the present assembly. He could bear his testimony to the zeal and devotedness of the Wesleyan body in Ireland, than whom none were more brave and fearless in attempting to dispel the almost Egyptian darkness which enveloped that in many respects unhappy country. He had had the honour for three successive years to fill the chair of this society in Dublin. As a protestant, and a member of the established church, he rejoiced in doing so [cheers]. He had made himself acquainted with their views and conduct, and he believed there was not a bolder or more faithful phalanx in sustaining the principles of his church than the Wesleyan methodists [cheers]. He could not forget that when, two years ago, a plan of education was proposed, which was to mingle the socinian, the Roman-catholic, and the member of the church of England in one common school, that it was the Wesleyans who came to the aid of the established church, and helped them to achieve the victory [cheers]. He rejoiced at the expressions of union which he had heard that day. The place from whence he came (Coleraine) contained Wesleyans, presbyterians, and churchmen, and they experienced something of that union; their united banner was the Bible, and their shield the doctrines of the reformation [cheers]. He then alluded to the expedition to the Niger, the object of which he stated to be to ascertain the condition of the interior of Western Africa, and if possible terminate the slave trade, which, notwithstanding the laws enacted by the British legislature, still it existed in all its horrors [cheers].

Sir ROBERT BATESON, M.P. for Londonderry, in seconding the resolution, said he was happy to bear his testimony to the excellent conduct of the Wesleyan body in the county which he represented.

Rev. B. SHAW, from Africa, supported the resolution.

Colonel CONELLY, M.P., said he rejoiced in the truly Christian spirit which pervaded the assembly, and indeed which characterised all the proceedings of the Wesleyan body, for whom he as a member of the church of England felt the highest respect. He had the honour of serving their late Majesties in the West Indies, and experience had convinced him that the best way to secure the prosperity of their colonies, and to restrain the people from improper and immoral courses was to give them the exalted counsel, and the cheering prospects which Christian education afforded. The missionaries had greatly facilitated the measures of government in that country, and had established in the minds of that once degraded population, principles which would make them not only good christians, but good and loyal subjects [cheers]. He cordially moved,

"That while lamenting the interruption which the missionaries have again experienced in Tonga, from the violence of heathen persecution, this meeting rejoices at the prosperous state at the missions in the other islands of the friendly group, and in New Zealand, and is especially encouraged by the opening prospects of the society in the populous islands of Feejee."

Mr. Sergeant JACKSON, M. P., expressed his gratifications in seeing so many of his countrymen present on this occasion. He was connected with a different and a darker portion of that country than his friends who had preceded him, and he could certainly say that there were no men in any portion of the globe under greater obligations to the Wesleyans than the Irish [cheers]. They had amidst scenes of trial and of danger done incalculable service to that country; during the period of severe persecution, which the church in Ireland was called upon to suffer, no portion of the community had come forward with more christian zeal or brotherly love than the Wesleyans [cheers]. Indeed he knew not what would have become of the cause of Protestantism in that land had it not been for the united efforts of their christian brethren of other communities, especially the Wesleyans [cheers]. The resolution referred to impediments which had been thrown in the way of the missionaries in Tonga, from the violence of heathen persecution. It must be expected wherever the gospel was preached that the great enemy would take care to raise obstacles and present difficulties in the way of the servant of the Lord, but it was not on that account that their spirit should be damped [hear, hear], an abundant harvest had been reaped in other quarters. If the Lord did not sometimes permit persecution, his zealous and faithful servants would not have the opportunity of exhibiting in the face of the world the power of those principles which they professed [hear, hear]. The Redeemer was himself despised and rejected of men, how then could his followers be free from persecution and distress? The honourable and learned gentleman then referred to the design lately formed in Sweden, of putting down the Roman-catholic and the Wesleyan bodies. He remarked that it was very curious that the diet of that country, should have combined those names [laughter], and read several extracts from an article recently published in the *Record* newspaper, to show that the bishops and clergy had vindicated the Wesleyans from the charges brought against them.

The Rev. D. CARGILL, missionary from Feejee supported the motion.

The Rev. S. Candlish (of Edinburgh) rose to move,

"That the success which has attended the efforts of the society in behalf of the aboriginal population of British North America, and the black and coloured population of the West Indies, calls for special acknowledgment; and that this meeting, recognizing the necessity of continued exertions in the cause of negro education and conversion, rejoices that the oldest missions of the society in the West Indies are now making praiseworthy exertions to provide by local contributions for their own pecuniary support; but that, at the same time, it cannot but solemnly recognize the claims of British India on this, and other missionary societies, as entitling it to increasing attention and effort, from its vast population, its providential connexion with us as a nation, and the awfully degraded condition of the millions of its idolatrous inhabitants."

C. HINDLEY, Esq., seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. B. GILLMAN (from Ireland) moved,

"That this meeting gladly records its grateful and entire concurrence in the following resolution, unanimously passed at a numerous meeting of the officers and principal friends of the society, held on occasion of the opening of the Centenary Hall and New Mission House, in Bishopsgate Street Within, on Thursday the 29th of April last (the president of the conference being in the chair), namely: 'That, on the happy occasion of the first occupation for general purposes of the noble and appropriate edifice, in which the officers and principal friends of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, from various parts of London and of the country, are now assembled, this meeting cannot lose the opportunity of giving expression to its feelings of approbation and satisfaction on witnessing the completion of the Centenary Hall and Mission House, and of its gratitude to James Wood, Esq., as treasurer, to the other members of the committee of appropriation, and to all the contributors of the centenary fund, for their munificent present of certain portions of this building to the use of the connexion at large, and, especially, of the new and very commodious mission-house, in immediate connexion with it, to the use of our missionary society, without any expense whatever, either for the site, or for the building, to the general missionary fund.'"

Mr. J. WESTHEAD (of Manchester) seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. Dixon, (of Sheffield) moved,

"That, while rejoicing in the successful foreign exertions of the society, this meeting regrets to learn that the income of this institution has for several preceding years been materially insufficient to meet the regularly increased demands which have been inevitably created even by that very success itself which has called forth from year to year its grateful acknowledgments; and earnestly recommends to the committee the arrangement and adoption of prompt and effectual measures for raising the regular annual income of the society, to an amount equal at least to the maintenance of its existing missions in a state of complete efficiency, as well as for the eventual extinction of the heavy debt, occasioned by the inadequate income of the three last years."

He recommended to the committee several modes for increasing the receipts of the society.

J. MUSGRAVE, Esq. (of Leeds) seconded the motion which was put and carried unanimously.

Four resolutions of thanks to various parties were passed, and the meeting broke up at six o'clock.

On Wednesday, the 7th of April, Mr. G. Howe, late of Bristol College, was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church, Warminster. The Rev. J. Mann, of Trowbridge, commenced the service with reading and prayer; the Rev. W. Jones, of Frome, delivered the introductory address on the Right of Dissenters' Ordination; the Rev. C. J. Middle ditch, of Frome, asked the usual questions; the Rev. W. Walton, of Trowbridge, offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. T. S. Crisp, president of Bristol College, gave the charge to the minister from Col. i. 27, 28. In the evening, the Rev. I. New, of Salisbury, preached to the people from 1 Cor. xvi., last clause of the tenth, and first clause of the eleventh verses. The other parts of the service were conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Aitchison, of Bratton, Evans, of Westbury, Edwards, of Beckington, and other ministers of the town and neighbourhood. The services were highly interesting, the congregation large, and the day, we trust, will be one to be remembered with pleasure, both by pastor and people, for many years to come.

A New Baptist Chapel is about to be erected at Banbury.

On Sabbath, April 25th, sermons were preached in the Independent chapel, Burslem, Staffordshire, in the morning and evening, by the Rev. J. Griffin, of Manchester; and in the afternoon, by the Rev. J. Braine, of Hanley; when the very handsome sum (including the proceeds of a tea-meeting held on Good Friday) of 91l. 4s. 7d. was collected, toward the reduction of the debt on the chapel. Such an instance of Christian liberality deserves to be made known, as an illustration of the efficiency of the voluntary principle, and as a stimulus to other congregations similarly situated.

On Thursday, the Rev. Edwin Bowdon, was ordained over the congregation in Norman lane chapel, Lostwithiel. The Rev. Mr. Hobbs, of Bodmin, commenced the service by reading and prayer; the Rev. W. Moore, of Truro, delivered the introductory discourse; the Rev. Mr. Hart, of Tregony, offered up the ordination prayer; the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Plymouth, delivered the charge to the Minister; and Dr. Cope addressed the congregation.

TOKEN OF RESPECT.—A meeting of the members of the Baptist-church, Portmahon, Sheffield, was held on Tuesday evening, April 5, for the purpose of presenting the Rev. D. Rees with a parting memorial of their esteem, on his resignation of the pastoral office over them. It consisted of a beautiful copy of Dr. Bloomfield's Greek Testament, with Notes, &c. &c. in two vols. 8vo. It was presented by Mr. Robt. North, accompanied with a suitable address, expressing their grateful estimation of his zealous, untiring, and efficient services on behalf of the infant cause with which they are connected. The church now contains ninety-three members, thirty-seven of whom were members when Mr. Rees became their pastor three years and a half ago. Besides, a new chapel has been erected, towards which upwards of 700l. have been obtained, principally through Mr. Rees's efforts, including collections at the opening, &c., and about 200l. subscribed by the members of the congregation; and a Sunday school has been established, which now numbers upwards of three hundred scholars.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, CITY ROAD.—The anniversary sermon of this charity was preached on Wednesday evening week, at Barbican Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Leifchild, when the children educated in these schools attended. Their neat and healthy appearance, together with their orderly conduct, and the beautiful manner in which they took their parts in the singing, at the conclusion, was the theme of general remark. The collection was small, but several new subscribers were obtained. On the following day, the treasurer, Henry Waymouth, Esq., publicly rewarded twenty-five young persons who had been educated in these schools, and brought testimonials of good conduct during the past year from their employers. They received from 5s. to 2l., according to the number of years since they had left the institution. Several, on obtaining their final reward, publicly expressed their gratitude for the benefits they had received while there. At the conclusion, the chairman announced that the committee were in treaty for the purchase of land, to enlarge and extend the operations of the charity. At one o'clock, the friends of the charity present witnessed the children dining in public upon the good old English fare—roast beef and plumb-pudding, beneath which the tables groaned. The whole establishment was thrown open for public inspection, and never was any seen in a better state. It reflects great credit upon its managers and officers, and deserves well of the dissenting public, by whom it has been and still is wholly supported—in fact it is the only dissenting institution of the kind in the kingdom, and claims the support and assistance of all our ministers and churches, who have a care for their widows and fatherless children, who are the especial objects of its tenderness and affection.

A hundred thousand Bibles, printed in Spanish, have been circulated in Spain by the English agents since the month of September.

THE MAY MEETINGS.—The following is a list of the public meetings which are yet to be held during the present month:—British Reformation, at Hanover-square Rooms, May 6, chairman, George Finch, Esq.; Prayer-book and Homily, at Freemasons' Hall, May 6, chairman, Lord Bexley; Sunday-school Union, at Exeter Hall, May 6, chairman, John Labouchere, Esq.; London Society for Jews, at Exeter Hall, May 7, chairman, Sir T. Baring, Bart.; Religious Tract, at Exeter Hall, May 7; Lord's Day, at Freemasons' Hall, May 10; British and Foreign Schools, at Exeter Hall, May 10, chairman, Lord John Russell, M.P.; Church Pastoral Aid, at Exeter Hall, May 11, chairman, Right Hon. Lord Ashley, M.P.; Naval and Military Bible,

at Hanover-square Rooms, May 11, chairman, Marquis Cholmondeley; Irish Evangelical, at Finsbury Chapel, May 11, chairman, W. A. Hankey, Esq.; London Hibernian, at Hanover-square Rooms, May 12, chairman, Marquis Cholmondeley; Protestant Association, at Exeter Hall, May 12; Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, at Exeter Hall, May 12, chairman, the Earl of Carnarvon; London Missionary, at Exeter Hall, May 13, chairman, Viscount Morpeth; Irish Society of London, at the Hanover-square Rooms, May 13, chairman, Earl of Galloway; Colonial Missionary, at Finsbury Chapel, May 14, chairman, J. R. Mills, Esq.; Foreign Aid, at Exeter Hall, May 14, chairman, Marquis Cholmondeley; District Visiting, at Hanover-square Rooms, May 14; London City Mission, at Exeter Hall, May 17; Aborigines Protection, at Exeter Hall, May 17, chairman, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.; New British and Foreign Temperance, at Exeter Hall, May 17; Home Missionary, at Exeter Hall, May 18; Peace Society, at the Meeting-house, Houndsditch, May 18, chairman, C. Hindley, Esq., M.P.; Indigent Blind Visiting, at Exeter Hall, May 19, chairman, Lord Ashley, M.P.; British and Foreign Temperance, at Hanover-square Rooms, May 20, chairman, Lord Teignmouth, M.P.; Sailors' Home, Destitute Sailors, &c., at Hanover-square Rooms, May 21; Suppression of Intemperance, at Exeter Hall, May 31, chairman, Earl Stanhope.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, April 30.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—
Mount Zion Chapel, Graham Street, Birmingham. Henry Knight, superintendant registrar.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.
Surtess and Southern, Walker, Northumberland, contractors—Whitrow and Evans, 148, Tottenham Court Road, woollen drapers—Tomlinson and Son, Nottingham, joiners—Smith and Williams, Bedworth, Warwickshire, ribbon manufacturers—Child and Noble, Jud Field, Yorkshire, farmers—Lindsay and Co., Lincolne and Laurence Pountney Lane, London, shipping ironmongers—Sandilands and Nicoll, 12, Conduit Street, Regent Street, tailors—J. J. & D. Woodcock, Pensnett, Staffordshire, coal miners—Ponting and Son, Malmesbury, Wiltshire, linen drapers—Hutchinson and Blumley, Bury and Ransbottom, Lancashire, wheelwrights—Blakley and Adams, Park Wood End, Yorkshire, joiners—Agar and Co., York and Bolton-le-Moors, tanners (so far as regards William Walker)—Sneade and Davis, Great Bolton, Lancashire, timber merchants—Canton and Thomas, Haverfordwest, timber merchants—R. and J. Battersby, Liverpool, ship brokers—D. and J. Button, John Street, Edgeware Road, pawnbrokers—Richards and Smith, Birmingham, corn dealers—S. A. and J. B. Ludlam, 159, Oxford Street, hostlers (so far as regards Sarah Ludlam)—Planagan and Nutting, 9, Mansion-house Street, and Dowgate Wharf, Upper Thames Street, seedsmen.

INSOLVENTS.
FERNYHOUGH, HENRY WILSON, Reading, Berkshire, bookseller, April 30.
WILKINS, HENRY and JOHN, London Wall, City, and Pirna, Saxony, wool merchants, April 30.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.
HOBBS, JOSEPH, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, iron master.
WYKE and DAVIES, Newton, Cheshire, iron founders.

BANKRUPTS.
BATES, BENJAMIN, Robin Hood Lane, Blackwall, grocer, to surrender May 11, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. Simpson and Cobb, Austin-friars.
CARR, JOHN EDGE, Kingsnorton, Worcestershire, factor, May 12, June 11: solicitors, Mr. J. T. Church, 8, Bedford Row, London, and Mr. T. S. James, Birmingham.
DIXON, WILLIAM, Walsall, brass founder, May 14, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. White and Whitmore, 11, Bedford Row, London, and Mr. Samuel Smith, Walsall.

DUNNITT, CHRISTOPHER, jun., Talbot Inn Yard, Southwark, hop and seed merchant, May 7, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. Barker and Rose, 50, Mark Lane.
LEFTWICH, THOMAS, Warrington, Lancashire, victualler, May 13, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. Norris and Co., 19, Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, London, and Mr. James Bayley, Warrington.

LORRAINE, WILLIAM, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, banker, May 18, June 11: solicitors, Mr. Langherne, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Messrs. Meggison and Co., King's Road, Bedford Row, London.

MORE, MARY, King's Road, Chelsea, florist, May 11, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Faucett, 44, Jewin Street, Cripplegate, and Romford, Essex.

ROE, THOMAS, Whitley, Coventry, miller, May 10, June 11: solicitors, Mr. Weeks, Cook's Court, Lincoln's Inn, London, and Messrs. Dewes and Sons, Coventry.

REMSEY, JOHN, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, money scrivener, May 13, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Cox, 16, Pinner's Hall, Old Broad Street.

SAUNDERS, JOSHUA, Cambridge and Chesterton, corn merchant, May 7, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Ravenscroft, 21, Guildford Street, Russell Square, London, and Mr. Cooper, Cambridge.

SKURRAY, CHARLES FRANCIS, Swindon, Wiltshire, ironmonger, May 18, June 14: solicitors, Mr. Frampton, 2, South Square, Gray's Inn, London, and Mr. Miller, Frome Selwood, Somersetshire.

SMITH, PRINCE WILLIAM, Bristol, tanner, May 11, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. White and Whitmore, Bedford Row, London, and Messrs. W. & C. Bevan, Bristol.

WALL, HERBERT, 12, Mark Lane, and 4, Barnard's Inn, Holborn, wine merchant, May 11, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Bodmin, 24, Queen Street, Cheapside.

DIVIDENDS.

May 21, Colvin, now or late of Calcutta, merchant—May 21, Butler, Adam and Eve public house, St. Paneras Road, licensed victualler—May 21, Robert Wilson, Aldermanbury, London, hosier—May 21, Wilde, Ross, Herefordshire, tanner—May 22, R. J. & J. Fowles, Rochdale, Lancashire, builders—May 25, Coulborn, Manchester, tailor—May 21, Lightfoot and Jacques, Askridge, Yorkshire, maltsters—May 24, Oliver, formerly of Ipswich, Suffolk, tallow chandler—May 26, Byron, Lincoln, corn merchant—May 25, Davis, Shiffhall, Shropshire, innkeeper—May 25, Nicholl, jun., Redruth, Cornwall, grocer—May 21, Lloyd, Maehynlleth, Montgomeryshire, surgeon—May 14, Green, Cranbrook, Kent, grocer—May 21, Biggs, Birmingham, wire drawer—May 21, Lazarus, Kingston-upon-Hull, jeweller—May 26, Eastwood and Woodhead, Melfham, Yorkshire, manufacturers—May 24, R. H. & J. Runcorn, Manchester, plumbers—May 25, Carruthers, Bristol, bookseller—June 8, Cockcroft and Fletcher, Manchester, stuff merchants.

CERTIFICATES—May 21.

Wilson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, colliery owner—Prescott, Hulme, Manchester, grocer—Thompson, Lynn, Norfolk, victualler—Buggeln, Liverpool, sugar refiner—Philpot and Co., Crigglestone, Yorkshire, coal merchants—Jacob, late of Northampton, and now of Amersham, Buckinghamshire, builder—Standley, Birmingham, brass founder—Squires, Emmett Street, Poplar, Middlesex, plumber—Foot, Horrabridge, Devonshire, tailor—Philpot, Bay Tree Tavern, St. Swithin's Lane, London, victualler—Davies, now or late of Wightwick, Wolverhampton, coal master—West, 1, Freeman's Court, Cornhill, London, wine merchant—Storm, Cardiff, Glamorganshire, builder—Knowles, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, druggist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BISSET, WILLIAM, Glasgow, manufacturer, May 6, 27.
MITCHELL, WILLIAM, Dower's Mill, near St. Andrews, meal-dealer, May 3, 24.
SINCLAIR, PETER, Edinburgh, bookseller, May 5, June 4.

Tuesday, May 4.

INSOLVENTS.

ANDREWS, JOHN, Marden Ash, near Ongar, Essex, schoolmaster.
DAY, WILLIAM, and DAY, THOMAS, Gracechurch Street, London, oil and Italian warehousemen.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CHITTY, MANWARING, Farham, Surrey, auctioneer.

BANKRUPTCIES.

BARTLETT, JOHN, Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, grocer, May 17, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Hammond, Furnivals Inn, Holborn: Mr. Nalder, Crocombe, Somersetshire.
BARKER, JOSHUA, Preston, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, May 26, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Cuvelje, Skilbeck, and Hall, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London; Messrs. Lodge and Harrier, Preston.

CHESHIRE, JOHN, Upper Street, Islington, linen-draper, May 18, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Lloyd, Cheapside.

DANNIT, CHRISTOPHER, jun., Talbot Inn Yard, Southwark, hop-merchant, May 7, June 11: solicitors, Messrs. Barker and Rose, Mark Lane.
 DAVIS, JOHN BERKELEY, Tottenham-court Road, ironmonger, May 18, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Barton, Cheltenham Place, Lambeth.
 GRIFFITHS, RICHARD, Newport, Salop, mercer, May 18, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Pownall and Cross, Staple Inn, London; Mr. Walmsley, Wem.
 LIVSEY, JAMES, Bury, Lancashire, May 20, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Clarke and Medcalf, Lincoln's Inn-fields, London; Mr. Whitehead, Bury.
 M'CLEAVE, WILLIAM, London Road, Surrey, linen-draper, May 18, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Catlin, Ely Place, Holborn.
 PRITCHARD, JOHN BANGHEY, and CROFT, JAMES ROBINS, Liverpool, oil merchants, May 18, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Adlington, Gregory, Faulkner, and Follett, Bedford Row, London: Messrs. Littledale and Bardswell, Liverpool.
 SPINK, FRANCIS, Bridlington, Yorkshire, miller, May 18, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Dynely, Coverdale, and Lee, Bedford Row, Grays Inn, London; Mr. Harland Bridlington.
 TOPLEY, JAMES, Greenwich, grocer, to surrender May 13, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Rivington, Fenchurch Buildings.
 TAYLOR, CHARLES WHITE, Epping, draper, May 17, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Read and Shaw, Friday Street, Cheapside.
 YARDY, MATTHEW WILKS, Newbury, Berkshire, bookseller, May 18, June 15: solicitor, Mr. Weir, Cooper's Hall, Basinghall Street.
 WETZLAR, ALEXANDER, and WETZLAR, JULIUS, Nottingham, lace-manufacturers, May 26, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Taylor and Collison, Great James Street, London; Mr. Hurst, Nottingham.

DIVIDENDS.

May 25, W. and S. B. Parker, Copperas-lane, Church-street, Deptford, colour manufacturers—May 25, Hollis, New Windsor, Berkshire, builder—May 27, Lewis, Mile-end-road, victualler—May 26, Innes, Star Brewery, Earl's-court, Old Brompton, and Bracher, of the same place, and Salisbury, common brewers—May 26, Duckham, 3, Little Love-lane, Wood-street, Cheapside, hosier—May 26, W. and J. C. Bowles, 25, Store-street, Bedford-square; 58, Great Coram-street, Russell-square; and 59, Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, upholsters—May 31, Hulke, Hulke, and Dixon, Deal, bankers—May 28, Dickings, jun., Bourn, Lincolnshire, grocer—May 26, Roberts, late of Tenby, but now of Pembroke, Pembrokeshire, innkeeper—May 26, Clay, Huddersfield, merchant—May 31, Lait, late of Newport, Gloucestershire, victualler—June 1, Blamy, Kingsbridge, Devonshire, baker—May 26, Lambley, Birmingham, hotel keeper—May 26, T. R. and C. J. Atkinson, Huddersfield, fancy and woollen cloth merchants—May 26, Carter and Lawrence, Huddersfield, machine makers—June 1, Jones, Wrexham, Denbighshire, ironmonger—June 1, D'Oyley, Moreton, Gloucestershire, scrivener—May 27, Crowder, Birmingham, woolstapler—May 26, Allport, Liverpool, coffee merchant—May 26, Graham, Liverpool, marine-stores dealer—May 28, Stone and Gibson, Bristol, tailors.

CERTIFICATES—May 23.

Edwards, Menai Foundry, Anglesey, iron-founder—Griffith, Tremadoc, Carnarvonshire, skinner—Coe, Shimpling, Suffolk, malster—Stocker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, corn dealer—Glaborne, Brindberry, Monmouthshire, cattle salesman—Turney, Millbank street, Westminster, baker—Coleman, Turf Hotel, St. Albans, victualler.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Higgins and Beechey, Gravesend, Kent, school-keepers—Clarke and Frankham, Southwark, Surrey, distillers—Marchant and Henning, Maidstone, Kent, woollen-draper—Bates, Dalton, Yorkshire, and Dickinson, Huddersfield, fancy cloth manufacturers—Boycott and Bidwell, Wellington, Shropshire, surgeons—Barnett J. and E. and Kaye, Beauvoir-place, Kingsland, Middlesex—Longridge and Thompson, Sunderland, Durham, ironmongers—Tarbuck and Campbell, Liverpool, starchmakers—Davis and Thornton, Paddock, Huddersfield, dyers—Alexander I. and H. Finsbury Repository, Chiswell-street, Finsbury-square, dealers in horses—Gell and Fullagar, Lewes, Sussex, attorneys—Vian J. and R. Devonport, drapers—N. Fenn, Canning, Kemm, and F. Fenn, Botolph-lane, London, wholesale grocers; so far as regards Canning—Barker, T. and W. and Carr, Leeds, Yorkshire, tea-dealers—Dobson, C. and J. Southampton, pawnbrokers—J. Ogden, A. Ogden, and S. Ogden, Lees, Lancashire, cotton-spinners; so far as regards S. Ogden—R. Austin, sen., R. Austin, jun., Leicester, wine-merchants—Shield, H. and C. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wine-merchants—Dowell and Gabb, Berkeley, Gloucestershire, ship-owners—Price, W. and F. C. Ombersley, Worcestershire, plumbers—Smith E. and J., and Winterbottom, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, brick-makers—Seabrook and Fagg, Rood-lane, Tower street, London, wine and spirit merchants—Cloe, A. and S., Rolvenden, Kent, millers—Dawson and Hodgson, Preston, Lancashire, grocers—Spooner, Painter, and Till, Birmingham, silver platers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ARCHIBALD, THOMAS, Alloa, manufacturer, May 6, 27.
 DUNCAN, ARCHIBALD, formerly of Edinburgh, now of Dundee, writer, May 10, 31.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	90½	90½	90½	90½	89½	89½
Ditto for Account	90½	90½	90½	90½	89½	89½
3 per cents. Reduced	89	90½	89	88½	89½	88½
3½ per cents. Reduced	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per cents.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	170	169½	168	169	166	166
India Stock	254½	254½	254	254	251	252
Exchequer Bills	15 pm.	14 pm.	14 pm.	12 pm.	11 pm.	8 pm.
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	4 pm.	4 pm.	2 pm.	2 pm.	4 pm.	par

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian	103½	Peruvian	17½
Brazilian	69	Portuguese 5 per cents	33½
Buenos Ayres	23½	Ditto 3 per cents	20½
Columbian	22½	Russian	113½
Danish	78	Spanish Active	23½
Dutch 2½ per cents	52½	Ditto Passive	5½
Ditto 5 per cents	99½	Ditto Deferred	12½
Mexican	29		

SHARES.

Railways—		L. & B. Quarter Shares	25½
Birmingham and Derby	70	London and Brighton	47½
Birmingham and Gloucester	75½	London and Croydon Trunk	14½
Blackwall	19½	London and Greenwich	8½
Bristol and Exeter	—	Ditto New	17½
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	32½	Manchester and Birmingham	25½
Eastern Counties	9	Manchester and Leeds	58
Edinburgh and Glasgow	35½	Midland Counties	90
Gosport Junction	48	Ditto Quarter Shares	22½
Great North of England	76	North Midland	76½
Great Western	95	Ditto New	—
Ditto New	65½	South Eastern and Dover	18½
Ditto Fifths	11½	South Western	58
London and Birmingham	162	Ditto Tenthis	2½

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, May 3.

The arrivals of English Wheat are rather larger than they have been lately, and the trade this morning has been dull at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per quarter on English and Foreign Wheat since this day week. The show of Wheat from Kent was good, and only a comparatively small portion of the same was disposed of, at an abatement of about 2s. per quarter.

Barley, Beans, and Peas, though in rather short supply, hung heavily on hand, and the transactions in these articles were so unimportant as scarcely to warrant alteration in quotations.

Oats were parted with at rather less money.

Canaryseed, though dull of sale, supported its former value.

The trade in Corn of all kinds is represented as having been in a very inanimate state.

	£.	s.		£.	s.		£.	s.
Wheat, Red New	49	to 58	Malt, Ordinary	48	.. 53	Beans, Old	40	to 42
Fine	61	.. 62	Pale	56	.. 60	Harrow	38	.. 41
White	53	.. 63	Peas, Hog	33	.. 38	Oats, Feed	22	.. 25
Fine	65	.. 70	Maple	37	.. 41	Fine	24	.. 26
Rye	32	.. 34	Boilers	34	.. 37	Poland	23	.. 26
Barley	24	.. 28	Beans, Ticks	35	.. 38	Potato	23	.. 27
Malting	30	to 33						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR APRIL 30.		AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.		DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.	
Wheat	63s. 8d.	Wheat	63s. 11d.	Wheat	23s. 8d.
Barley	32 4	Barley	32 9	Barley	13 10
Oats	23 1	Oats	23 1	Oats	12 3
Rye	35 8	Rye	35 6	Rye	16 9
Beans	39 3	Beans	39 5	Beans	11 0
Peas	37 10	Peas	38 11	Peas	12 6

PROVISIONS, LONDON, May 3.

The arrivals last week from Ireland, were 2,549 bales of Bacon, and from foreign ports, 16,431 casks of Butter.

The very fine weather and large supplies of foreign Butter, caused a rapid decline last week in this article, best Dutch down to 94s. to 98s. per cwt.

The Bacon market is tolerably firm, but without any great extent of business doing. 58s. to 59s. on board, are the current rates for choice Waterford parcels to ship, but very good things are to be had at 53s. to 58s. landed. Limerick, 55s. to 57s., heavy weights 2s. less.

Butter is considerably lower. The best foreign is down to 94s. to 96s. Holland to 92s. to 95s. Old Irish is in consequence so neglected, that it is impossible to quote a price.

Hams are in good demand, at 66s. up to 74s.

In Lard there is more inquiry at 68s. to 73s.

POTATOES.

The weather during the past week having been very warm, with fine growing showers, has caused a great depression in the London market; in consequence of which, large quantities have continued to be warehoused, in order to clear the market of the superabundant supply that has lately been received.

Scotch Reds	per ton 45s. to 65s.	Kent Kidneys	per ton 70s. to 75s.
Yorkshire Reds	70 .. 99	Whites	55 .. 60
Wisbeach	50 .. 55	Irish	40 .. 50

HOPS.

In the Hop-market business continues restricted, and the market is very dull. The estimated duty is not yet laid, but some parties are of opinion that 150,000*l.* will be near the mark.

The accounts of the new bines are not so favourable as last week.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 3.

The market to-day was on the whole moderately well supplied with beasts, the general quality of which was tolerably fair. The weather being unfavourable to slaughtering, the dead markets glutted with country-killed meat in bad condition, and the attendance of buyers limited, the beef trade was exceedingly heavy, at a decline in the currencies noted on this day se'nnight of from 2d. to 4d. per 8lbs., and a large number of beasts were turned out unsold. There was a fair supply of sheep, the demand for which was dull, at an abatement of 2d. per 8lbs., the best old Downs in the wool selling at 4s. 10*l.* per 8lbs. The lamb trade was dull at drooping rates. From the Isle of Wight 170 lambs were received fresh up. Both calves and pigs commanded scarcely any attention, and the quotations had a downward tendency.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	3s. 4d. to 4s. 0d.	Pork	4s. 0d. to 4s. 10d.
Mutton	3 6 .. 4 6	Lamb	5 8 .. 6 4
Veal	5 0 .. 5 8		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	461	5,680	203	454
Monday	2,778	18,980	95	478

HAY.

There has been a good supply of meadow hay, the demand pretty good, and prices firm. Clover met a ready sale at 6*l.* per load for the best sorts. Hay sold at from 3*l.* 12s. to 4*l.* 18s.

WOOL.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Down Teggs	1	3½	to 1	4
Half-bred Hogs	1	3	.. 1	4
Ewes and Wethers	1	0½	.. 1	1½
Flannel do	1	0	.. 1	2
Blanket Wool	0	6	.. 0	9
Skin, Combing	0	10½	.. 1	0

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, May 4.

TEA.—Few sales were made, but prices were firm, and the Common Congou offered at 1s. 5½*d.* per lb. Company's Congou was sold at 1s. 5½*d.* per lb. cash.

COFFEE.—Dull of sale, and the bulk of parcels brought to public sale were bought in, though offered on lower terms.

SUGAR.—Very little business done, and prices unsteady. British Plantation Sugar was scarcely inquired for either by grocers or refiners; prices nominally the same as last.

TALLOW.—Prices were firmly sustained, but the market was dull, as the trade were disposed to purchase for actual want only. P. Y. C. 48s. on the spot.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

EVERY ONE HIS OWN DOCTOR.

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